Daily Report

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Trident Problems Seen as Help for Disarmament

AU2908111189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 24 Aug 89 p 2

["W.M." article: "Good Advice to Washington"]

[Text] Washington has released the news that the Pentagon suspects fundamental mistakes in the construction of the strategic "Trident 2" missile. Last week a test failed for the second time in 5 months. Shortly after it was launched, the missile exploded. It is said that the Department of Defense shares the opinion of Rear Admiral Malley, who believes that the jets of the driving mechanism of the first stage of the missile are not powerful enough. Investigations continue. However, Washington expects that it will not be possible to deploy the missile on submarines, for which Lockheed charges $26 million per unit, beginning early 1990, as was scheduled.

This is good news. At least for all those who support the continuation of the disarmament process and, particularly, the early conclusion of an agreement between the USSR and the United States on a 50-percent reduction of strategic arsenals. "Trident 2" is one of the three systems, on which the strategy of nuclear deterrence is to be based in the future, according to the view of the U.S. Administration. The two others are the land-based "MX" intercontinental missile, and the so-called "B-2" stealth bomber, which even cost $500 million each.

Now the U.S. Government could make a virtue of necessity and finally give up its delaying action against the agreement, the drawing up of which was put on the agenda by USSR and U.S. representatives as far back as 1985. Even before the obvious construction mistakes of the "Trident 2" became public, THE NEW YORK TIMES criticized Washington for hesitating on three questions: whether the land-based mobile missiles should be banned, whether the sea-based missiles should be limited, and whether the regulations under the ABM Treaty should be continued to be observed. For 8 months the Administration has examined its bargaining position, the paper wrote. Now it is high time to use the opportunity and conclude the agreement.

One can only support this piece of good advice....

CSSR Minister Johanes Interviewed in Geneva

AU2408172589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 19 Aug 89 p 5

[Interview with CSSR Foreign minister Jaromir Johanes by Vaclav Mecir, a CTK correspondent: "Our Initiatives and Suggestions"—in Geneva on 18 August]

[Text] Geneva—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, who addressed the disarmament conference on Thursday [17 August], gave an interview to a CTK correspondent at the end of his visit to Geneva.

[Mecir] What was the aim of your working visit to Geneva?

[Johanes] Thanks to the favorable tendencies in international relations, the significance of multi-lateral disarmament talks, which have been given a positive stimulus by the contemporary Soviet-American dialogue, has increased in recent years. In connection with this, at the close of this year's session of the Geneva disarmament conference, which, in spite of the efforts of many member states, including Czechoslovakia, did not bring more marked progress, we considered it necessary to come up with an overall point of view on the issues under discussion and on the possibilities for their resolution. During my visit to Geneva, I also held talks with Jan Martenson, general director of the UN European Bureau and director of the UN Center for Human Rights, with Gerald Hinteregger, executive secretary of the UN Economic Commission for Europe [ECE], and with Miljan Komatin, general secretary of the disarmament conference.

[Mecir] In your speech you again confirmed Czechoslovakia's active participation in and comprehensive support for the disarmament conference. How do you evaluate its work?

[Johanes] Indisputably, the flexible course of the USSR and the other socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, has had a great influence on the conference proceedings. The suggestions which arise from the policy of restructuring are being favorably manifested. I am convinced that in the present situation the conference can do a great deal to accelerate the process of real disarmament and to guarantee its irreversibility. However, it is essential that the conference proceeds as soon as possible toward the practical resolution of the problem of nuclear disarmament and, in particular, completes the preparation of an agreement on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons.

[Mecir] Can the conference contribute to the implementation of the CSSR's foreign policy initiatives which you spoke about here?

[Johanes] Our initiatives have a lot in common with the Geneva discussions. For example, the implementation of the CSSR and GDR initiative to create a chemical-free zone in central Europe should certainly be a contribution to the preparation of an agreement on their complete prohibition. Fruitful results from the Geneva talks should make it easier to create a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the Warsaw Pact member states and NATO, as proposed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee. We spoke about these issues in a similar spirit during my meeting with M. Komatin who praised the active participation of Czechoslovakia in the work of the conference.

[Mecir] What was discussed in your other working discussions in Geneva?

[Johanes] During my talks with Jan Martenson, among other things, I expressed our interest that through its activity the UN Geneva bureau assists as much as possible in fulfilling the needs of pan-European cooperation and in increasing trust. We also discussed certain aspects of international cooperation in the humanitarian sphere and in the sector of human rights. We jointly expressed the need for a matter-of-fact constructive dialogue on these issues and for the comprehensive fulfillment of the appropriate international agreements by all states.

I explained to G. Hinteregger, the ECE executive secretary, our point of view on the current issues in the activity of this important international organization whose members are the European states, the United States, and Canada. We agreed that, particularly, under the present conditions associated with the processes of economic integration and the development of new forms of cooperation between states in Europe, the importance of the ECE as an organ in whose activity participate states with diverse social systems is increasing. The positive results of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting have provided several valuable suggestions for the commission's work. We expect that this will be manifested, in particular, in the spring ecological forum in Sofia, in the economic conference in Bonn, and in the everyday activity of the commission. In this way, the ECE can make a significant contribution to the realization of the idea of a common European home.

We also dealt with the possibilities for the further intensification of cooperation between the CSSR and the ECE as far as environmental protection is concerned, and with the procedure for implementing the proposal put forward in this sphere by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, a proposal which concerns central Europe.

Central Europe Commander on Disarmament, Security

AU2708181089 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 26 Aug 89 p 4

[Ruediger Moniac report: "'NATO Needs Joint Will'; General von Sandrart: Disarmament and Security Interests Must Be Reconciled"]

[Text] Hamburg—In a time which increasingly points toward disarmament, German General Hans-Henning von Sandrart, NATO commander-in-chief for central Europe, has referred to the growing conflict between reduced armament and the unchanged security interests of the West, and therefore he appealed to political and military leaders to reconcile new disarmament concepts with future requirements of the operational leadership of armed forces.

Thus, addressing the annual meeting of the Clausewitz Society at the Hamburg Staff College, he called for "reviving" operational thinking. Only under this condition, with a future low level of NATO forces in Western Europe, does he think that the development of an "overall defense concept for the whole region" of central Europe, which can be regarded as an "essential contribution to a credible strategy of preventing war," will be possible.

The general also said that new armed forces structures which are to be defined in the course of disarmament negotiations, and increased dependence on mobilization compellingly require the reevaluation of the military factors of "reconnaissance, mobility, and firepower under the geographical conditions of central Europe." At the same time, they increasingly necessitate the "large-scale use of modern technologies." "Adding small-scale tactical defense models" is not enough. The overcoming of complex links beyond the borders of states is required, he said.

Thus, Sandrart's appeal calls for increasing preparedness in the capitals of the alliance to set national egoism aside and to be jointly willing to organize the NATO forces that will be available in Europe in the future. The general explained that this objective also implies that nuclear weapons will not be neglected in the future defense structures of the Alliance. Precisely in a period of political change, nuclear weapons "serve as a insurance" for both sides so that neither can embark on military adventures, he said.

Herbert Kremp, chief correspondent of DIE WELT, also addressed the Clausewitz Society and, among other things, called on NATO and the West European Union (WEU) to seek cooperation to "solve really global questions," such as environmental protection, the debt crisis, and drug abuse, in addition to cooperation with the East to reduce the potentials of armed forces, which has been initiated in the meantime.

Isai Speaks at Peshkopi Liberation Rally

AU2808194489 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1800 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Report on speech delivered by Hekuran Isai, Albanian Workers Party Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, at a rally in Peshkopi on the 45th anniversary of the 18th Assault Brigade and the city's liberation on 27 August—with recorded portion]

[Text] [Begin Isai recording] Dear comrades, veterans, and former partisans of the 18th Assault Brigade: We are celebrating the 45th anniversary of the district's liberation from the Nazi-fascist occupiers and the domestic traitors, as well as the 45th anniversary of the 18th Assault Brigade. This is truly a great, popular celebration and I wish you many happy returns.

In the name of the party Central Committee, its first secretary, Comrade Ramiz Alia personally, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and the Council of Ministers, I convey to you best wishes. [applause]

It is now 45 years since our armed revolution, under the leadership of the party and our legendary commander, Enver Hoxha, overthrew the old world of oppression, suppression, exploitation, and intrigues. [applause] The National Liberation War left us a legacy of sentiments and inspiration. Its characteristics have been preserved during the 45 years that have elapsed since then.

One of the more important traits of our partisans was that they had no pretensions. Their only desire was to participate in the most difficult battles and they considered the worst punishment to be that of being excluded from battles, for whatever reason. Today, it is considered an equivalent punishment to remove someone from the most difficult fronts of work and production. We must admit, however, that there are cases in which people tend to be attracted to an easy life and cushy jobs, while society is making great sacrifices in the construction of socialism. These are also being aided by some cadres through their intervention.

Solidarity was another distinguishing trait of the partisans, a trait that has been raised increasingly higher by the party during the past 45 years. The struggle for reconstruction and for the construction of socialism brought this solidarity to the fore in such massive actions as the ones in Lukova [building of plantations by young volunteers], the construction of railroads, and so forth. The elimination of the consequences of earthquakes, the elimination of provincial and religious differences, and the north-south and south-north movements are other examples of this solidarity. A typhoon swept the Kala e Dodes region a few days ago, and all Albania rose like one to help it.

Reliance on the people was another characteristic of the partisans. It was the people who filled the ranks of partisan units. It was the people who formed the vanguard units when the partisans were on the march. It was the people who supplied the partisans. It was the people who provided the hospitals in their homes. It was the people who cared for the wounded. The party raised these characteristics to higher levels in conformity with the principle that socialism is built by the masses, the party makes them aware. [applause]

Strong and conscious discipline was another characteristic of the partisans. This discipline was implanted deeply in the minds and hearts of people during the years of socialist construction. If this had not been so, it would have been difficult to carry out the agrarian reform, to impose the extraordinary postwar taxation and the expropriation of property, to carry out the industrialization, the collectivization of agriculture, and the country's electrification. If this were not so, it would have been difficult to eradicate religion and to replace it with knowledge and culture. Conscious partisan discipline is now a characteristic trait in our armed forces, the worthy successors of the partisan units. The army is how the people want it to be: well armed, strong, and vigilant. [applause]

The partisans had a great love for life because the party showed them the prospects and broad horizons of the future. They shed tears for their fallen comrades and cried out in pain. On the other hand, they were filled with optimism. The massive participation of the youth was another characteristic trait of the National Liberation War. Over 90 percent of the partisans were young people. When we salute the martyrs with clenched fists, we remember that their average age was 19-23 years. Youth has strength and energy. The party gave them the leadership and the youth carried out acts of heroism in the war. They carried out acts of heroism after the war, too. There is no action that does not bear the imprint of our youth. [applause] [end recording]

Comrade Hekuran Isai continued:

Among the lessons to be drawn from these 45 years of socialist construction, the most fundamental ones concern the constant consolidation of the leadership role of the Albanian Workers Party and the preservation of the people's power regardless of sacrifices. During these 45 years our party has never retreated before the domestic and external enemies who sought to turn it away from the Marxist-Leninist road. The party has waged particularly bitter and dangerous battles against modern revisionism in connection with the role of the party in revolution and in the construction of socialism. Our party has declared that the weakening and destruction of the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party leads inevitably to the destruction of the victories of the people's revolution and, consequently, to the assumption of power by the bourgeoisie.

Pluralism has now been introduced to a large degree in the revisionist countries. Even in those countries where there is hesitancy about pluralism, other ways have been found to destroy the party, giving it secondary roles that

have nothing to do with its vital and principled role in the revolution and socialism.

Another lesson to be drawn from our struggle during these 45 years concerns the consolidation of the role of the people's power, which is also decisive. All the onslaughts of our enemies have been intended to grasp power from the people. During these 45 years our party has worked step by step to consolidate the people's power and its role for the successful construction of socialism and the country's defense.

During this struggle against revisionism, our party has constantly warned against the intentions of the international bourgeoisie with regard to the people's power, saying that the revisionist road is a counterrevolutionary one, also with regard to this vital question. Our party's conclusions are now being completely vindicated. Having prepared the terrain for this, revisionism in Poland handed over power to the counterrevolution a few days ago, thus canceling de jure the victories of the revolution, for which the Polish people shed so much blood. The revisionist counterrevolution, in open alliance with the forces of the bourgeoisie and the domestic and external reaction, has now directed its sights against Hungary and is consolidating there de jure those victories that it had attained over many years.

The same fate awaits the Soviet Union. Every trace of the proletarian revolution is disappearing completely in that country as well. The Gorbachevite counterrevolution is achieving this through the most monstrous accusations and galloping anti-socialist actions.

Comrade Hekuran Isai went on to point out the glorious and militant traditions of the people of Diber District and the 155 martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause of the revolution. After speaking about the glorious road of the 18th Assault Brigade, which also fought bravely in Macedonia and Kosovo, Comrade Hekuran Isai said: We pursue an independent, sincere, and open policy in the international arena, and a policy of good-neighborliness with the Balkan peoples. However, as you know, we do not find a positive response to this policy among our northern neighbors, despite our efforts. Socialist Albania cannot be blamed for the grave situation in which Yugoslavia finds itself, as it is claiming. Nor can Kosovo and the Kosovars be blamed for this situation. They are defending their national dignity and their human and civil rights against a denigration that is contrary to all human and constitutional norms. The Kosovars seek neither privileges nor mercy, but only the rights that they have won through their struggle, like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia.

In conclusion, Comrade Hekuran Isai said: The festivities on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of the country's liberation are approaching. The period that has remained until then must be a period of even greater achievements. During the coming months, the masses and the communists will further increase their mobilization in order to go to the festivities with even greater achievements.

Events in Poland, Hungary Viewed, Criticized

AU2608141289 Tirana ATA in English 1057 GMT 26 Aug 89

["The Logical End of the Revisionist Course—Article of the Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 26 (ATA)—Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT carries today an article written by Prof Agim Popa. It deals with the recent events in Poland and Hungary, which have attracted the attention of the world public opinion. In Poland, the article stresses, the Polish United Workers Party in power failed in the parliamentary elections. President Jaruzelski charged the representative of Solidarnosc, Mozawiecki, with the task of forming the government. On its part, in essence, Hungary is following the same road as Poland and they are precipitating toward the so-called "political pluralism," toward the transformation of the Workers Socialist Party of Hungary into a social democratic one also from the formal point of view.

Such events were expected. They are the logical end of a wrong line, which opened the road to the bourgeoisie counterrevolution. The revisionists are handing over the power to the open opposers of socialism, who do not conceal at all their aims. "We, Lech Walesa stated lately, are preparing to pass into the state which existed prior to the war, when Poland was a capitalist country."

What is happening today in Poland and Hungary is the common end of all the revisionists in power, if they are not overthrown earlier by the working people themselves.

The anti communist propaganda is commenting with euphoria these events as a failure of communism, a triumph of capitalism and of the bourgeois "democracy." Eventually, the events in Poland, Hungary, and other countries following the same road, mark of the historic failure, not of socialism and Marxism-Leninism, but of revisionism. The Party of Labor of Albania has made clear, not only today, but since the time of the events that followed the notorious 20th Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, that the anti-Marxist course adopted by the modern revisionists would lead to the restoration of capitalism and that this capitalist course would bring about crises, bitter disillusions and failures. Now the whole world has witnessed it.

The bourgeoisie and the revisionists furiously attack socialism for all those catastrophic consequences, the deviation from the principles of socialism, and the introduction into the road of capitalist restoration brought about to the former socialist countries. But the revisionists in the Soviet Union, Poland, Hungary, and elsewhere are in power for nearly 35 years. Therefore,

neither the socialist system nor Stalin are responsible for the confusion, economic backwardness, failure, red-tape, and limited democracy, or of the interventions in Poland and Hungary, in Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan.

The imperialist Western circles, profiting from the grave crisis prevailing in the revisionist countries and from the Gorbachevian course in the Soviet Union, are openly stirring up the processes taking place in these countries.

Regarding the leading circles in the Soviet Union, they are adopting a moderate and tolerant stand toward the actual events in Poland and Hungary. This is linked, first of all, with the fact that the events in Poland and Hungary do not run counter to the general line of Gorbachev, on the contrary, his "perestroyka" has given the green light to the anti socialist forces everywhere. The stand of the Soviet Union is also explained with the fact that the hitherto developments do not impair its strategic interests, do not question immediately and directly the preservation of the Soviet zone of influence. The West, as well as those forces that are having their superiority in Poland and Hungary, have made it clear that at least in the present moment, the problem of a possible withdrawal of Poland and Hungary from the Warsaw Treaty is not raised, something which would cause a disruption of the actual equilibriums and undesirable perturbations in the East-West relations.

The world bourgeoisie and imperialism want to implant among the peoples the spirit of failures, disillusions, and lack of confidence regarding the question of socialism and to darken and close any perspective of their revolution and just struggle against the capitalist enslavement and neocolonial domination of imperialism. The advent to power of the revisionists in the Soviet Union and in some other former socialist countries which opened the way to the regressive process of the capitalist restoration and led to a grave crisis in these countries, is not at all a fatality, as the anti communist propaganda seeks to present it. The danger of a revisionist peaceful counter-revolution may be avoided through a correct Marxist-Leninist policy, drawing lessons from the past. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed in the 6th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, "socialism has all the possibilities within its system to overcome the contradictions, conflicts, and difficulties rising during its development, in order to respond to the dialectics of life. Socialism does not need to borrow reforms and mechanisms from the capitalist order it has overthrown," the article writes in conclusion.

Economic Progress Report for 20-26 Aug 89

AU2608184689

[Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its transmissions between 20-26 August carries the following economic performance reports (time and date of report given in parentheses):

Durres District: The export plan up to 15 August was overfulfilled by 6.3 million leks. (1800 GMT 22 Aug 89)

Librazhd District: The overall industrial plan up to 20 August was overfulfilled by 5 million leks and the export plan was exceeded by 5 percent. (1800 GMT 26 Aug 89)

Skrapar District: The general industrial production plan for the period up to 20 August was overfulfilled by 2 million leks. (1800 GMT 24 Aug 89)

Tropoje District: The overall industrial production plan up to 15 August was fulfilled by 100.5 percent. (1800 GMT 20 Aug 89)

Vlore District: The industrial production plan up to 20 August was exceeded by 5 million leks and the export plan by 1.7 million leks. (1800 GMT 23 Aug 89)

Turkish Allegations on Consulate Access Denied

AU2908124789 Sofia BTA in English 1223 GMT 29 Aug 89

["Announcement of the Consular Department With the Ministry of Foreign Affairs"—BTA Headline]

[Text] Sofia August 29 (BTA)—Recently the mass media in Turkey spread an allegation made by a spokesman for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey according to which there are restrictions as to the access of the Bulgarian citizens who want to get entry visas for Turkey to the diplomatic and consular representations of that country in Bulgaria, says the announcement of the Consular Department with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria circulated today.

The Consular Department states that this allegation does not correspond to reality. The Bulgarian citizens have free access to the Embassy of Turkey in Sofia and to the consulates general in Plovdiv and Burgas and they have the possibility of personally performing all formalities required for obtaining entry visas to that country.

Expressing concern over those leaving for Turkey, the Consular Department has raised the question of the readiness of the Turkish side to issue entry visas to all who want to visit Turkey several times and has insisted before responsible officials of the Turkish Embassy, including Turkey's ambassasdor, that this should be done on the basis of the existing bilateral agreements. Special attention is paid to the fate of the Bulgarian citizens whose families have been parted as a result of the Turkish Government's decision to halt the arrival of Bulgarian citizens and to the people who have close relatives in the territory of Turkey.

The possibility given to the Bulgarian citizens to perform themselves for formalities involved in obtaining entry visas for Turkey confirms Bulgaria's will to unflinchingly implement the recently approved changes in the legislation regulating travels abroad, which are absolutely in conformity with international standards for contacts between people and with the Vienna accords.

The Consular Department with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs express their asssurance that the Turkish Consular representations will strictly adhere to the intergovernmental agreement on the application of a facilitated visa regime signed in 1987 and will meet the requests for issuing entry visas to the Bulgarian citizens who want to go Turkey unobstructedly and in good time.

Legal Expert Interviewed on Passport Regulations

AU2908085989 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 26 Aug 89 p 3

[Interview with Vasil Radoilski, senior legal expert of the Ministry of Justice, by unnamed ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME correspondent: "I Would Like To Travel Abroad...."]

[Text] One of our correspondents (assuming the role of an anoymous citizen) interviewed Vasil Radoilski, senior legal expert of the Ministry of Justice on Decree No 40, recently published in DURZHAVEN VESTNIK, and about the adoption of a Code of Regulations on the Application of the Law on Foreign Travel Passports.

[Question] Can you describe the new requirements for the issuance of foreign travel passports?

[Radoilski] In the first place, the requirement that citizens submit a number of documents is rescinded. The basic document required under the new regulations is an application in which the citizen himself declares the existing circumstances in accordance with Article 7 of the Law.

[Question] To put it briefly, can you name the circumstances under which a foreign travel passport, or an exit visa can be refused?

[Radoilski] The law clearly and extensively describes 8 cases in which a passport can be temporarily refused, and I would like to emphasize the word "temporarily." Passports can be refused in the following cases: In the case of an individual against whom preliminary legal action has been taken for a penal offense, in the the case of a convict, who has not served his sentence, in the case of an individual who has failed to pay alimony established on a legal basis, and in the case of persons who have access to facts and data which are defined as state secrets. This applies only to the last 5 years preceding the date of the application. Let us not forget the case of individuals who have considerable financial debts toward the states the payment of which is not guaranteed.

[Question] Should the application indicate the reasons for travel?

[Radoilski] According to Article 1 of the Law on Foreign Travel Passports, every Bulgarian citizen has the right to travel abroad, while the purpose of the trip, such as sightseeing, visit, medical reasons, marriage, permanent residence, education, or post-graduate studies at the citizen's own expense should be indicated.

[Question] Are there any exceptions related to this simplified procedure guaranteed by law?

[Radoilski] This applies to two cases only—first to young men over 17 for whom the consent of the relevant military authority is required and to children under age and minors for whom the consent of both parents is required, and if one parent should disagree, the question should be settled by a decision of the legal authorities, in accordance with Article 72 of the Family Code.

[Question] According to the Law, the validity of foreign travel passports is limited to 5 years. What about the validity of exit visas?

[Radoilski] The citizen himself indicates how long he wishes to stay abroad in his application. Exit visas may be issued for 3, 6, and 12 months, and these terms can be prolonged for valid reasons by diplomatic and consular

services abroad. This regulation does not apply to Bulgarian citizens who are permanently living abroad, and for whom no exit and entry visas are required. Entry visas are not required for the following countries: Albania, Vietnam, GDR, China, DPRK, Cuba, Laos, Mongolia, Poland, Romania, USSR, Hungary, CSSR, Yugoslavia, and also Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Austria, and others.

[Question] How can citizens obtain entry visas for countries with which we have no visa agreements?

[Radoilski] In the past this procedure was handled through the Consular Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. However, as of 1 September 1989, entry or transit visas shall be obtained by the citizens themselves from the diplomatic, or consular services of the countries in question in the People's Republic of Bulgaria.

[Question] If a citizen abroad loses, damages, or destroys his own passport, what will the legal consequences be, and will he be able to return to his home country?

[Radoilski] In such cases, and in case a citizen's personal data have changed, the relevant Bulgarian diplomatic, or consular mission shall issue a provisional travel document for the citizen's return to Bulgaria. If he is found guilty of destroying his passport, he shall pay a fine based on the Law on Foreign Travel Passports. Let us recall that those Bulgarian citizens who have not returned to the country within the period determined in their exit visa shall also be fined.

[Question] A Decree on amending Tariff No 4 on state taxes was published in connection with the Code of Regulations on the Application of the Foreign Passports Law. Can you indicate the taxes for the issue of an ordinary, foreign travel passport, as it is determined by the Law?

[Radoilski] The tax for a 5-year foreign travel passport years is 100 leva. In addition to this, the tax for a 3-month exit visa amounts to 20 leva, for a 6-month visa to 40 leva, and for a 12-months visa to 60 leva. Citizens who are sent abroad for medical reasons at the decision of the Ministry of Public Health and Social Welfare and those accompanying them, as well as people under 16, post-graduate students with state scholarships, and persons over 70 are exempt from such taxes.

Atanasov Receives Romania's Deputy Premier

AU2808184889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] On 28 August, Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Ion Radu, chairman of the Romanian part of the Joint Bulgarian-Romanian Governmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, candidate member of the Political Executive Committee of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee, and deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government.

Information was exchanged on the socioeconomic development of the two countries and the problems that the Bulgarian and Romanian peoples are solving under the leadership of their communist parties. The development of economic relations and trade exchange between Bulgaria and Romania was positively assessed. It was pointed out that the two neighboring socialist countries' mutual cooperation has a priority role. The importance of the program on further strengthening specialization and production sharing between Bulgaria and Romania for the periods of 1989-1990 and 1991-1995 was pointed out. This program was prepared under the instructions of the two party and state leaders, Todor Zhivkov and Nicolae Ceausescu.

Comrade Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Bulgarian part of the commission, took part in the meeting.

Economic Cooperation Session With Romania Opens

AU2808185689 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Specific measures related to intensifying bilateral economic exchange are necessary. Expanding direct contacts between Bulgarian and Romanian companies and organizations and establishing lasting relations between them will contribute to intensifying cooperation. These are the conclusions of the 18th session of the Joint Bulgarian-Romanian Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, that opened on 28 August in Sofia.

Under the leadership of the commission's cochairmen, Andrey Lukanov and Ion Radu, the possibilities of developing bilateral economic relations and scientific-technical relations are being discussed. Special attention is being devoted to further strengthening and expanding economic cooperation and production sharing between the two countries in light of the decisions adopted at the highest level.

Hungarian Charge Summoned Over Detainees

LD2808201289 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] In connection with demands of the Hungarian People's Republic concerning a speedy solution of the case of the two detained Hungarian citizens who on 21 August participated in the illegal demonstration in the Wenceslas Square in Prague, Janos Hanko, charge d'affaires in the Hungarian Embassy in Czechoslovakia was invited today to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was stressed to him that Czechoslovakia has a permanent interest in the further all-round development of mutual relations with Hungary, but it cannot tolerate the fact that despite repeated warnings some Hungarian citizens grossly abused our hospitality and violated our laws and legal rules.

Concerning the case of the two detained Hungarian citizens, the relevant Czechoslovak organs have acted and are consistently acting in harmony with Czechoslovak laws and international obligations as well as with the treaty on legal assistance between Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

At the same time, the Czechoslovak demand that law and order be ensured in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest was reiterated.

Hungarian Citizens Taken Into Custody

LD2608171289 Prague CTK in English 1634 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 26 (CTK)—The Prague 1 district prosecutor has issued a proposal that Hungarian citizens G.K. and T.D. [Gyorgy Keremyi and Tamas Deutsch] who attended an illegal meeting of a greater number of people in Prague on August 21, 1989, be punished.

The two Hungarians have been accused of committing offence against public order. Due to a decision of the Prague 1 district court, the two Hungarians have been taken into custody and are to be tried.

Punishment for Two Arrested Hungarians Advocated

AU2808142689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 2

[Article by Marianna Fonodova, UJ SZO staff journalist, and Jiri Janouskovec, RUDE PRAVO staff journalist: "'Tourists' In Whom We Are Not Interested"]

[Text] This week the Hungarian information media have been devoting much space to the apprehended members of the Hungarian FIDESZ (Union of Young Democrats) organization and to other groups who took an active part in the demonstration in Prague's Wenceslas Square on Monday [21 August]. Some of them agree with the realistic standpoint of Gyula Horn, Hungarian minister of foreign affairs, who condemned the participation of Hungarian citizens in the aforementioned action; others again seek sensations and continue in a spirit of confrontation. Voices also resound which are trying to make martyrs of the apprehended people; they are talking about their being treated badly in custody.

Therefore, we decided to pay a visit to the two apprehended Hungarian citizens, G Kerenyi and T Deutsch. Lajos Taba, Hungarian consul of the Hungarian Embassy in Prague, who is in regular contact with them, was also present. At the time of our visit he was interested in the health condition of T Deutsch and G Kerenyi, their food, the way they are treated in custody, and he also informed them about matters connected with their custody. G Kerenyi told him: "They are treating us decently, we have enough food, but we are not used to this type of food." T Deutsch also confirmed this during the meeting.

The consul then informed them that the investigation documents had been handed over to the Prosecutors Office, and that very soon it will be decided whether they will stand trial or be released from custody.

Having been told that he could make a statement to the journalists present (in addition to the RUDE PRAVO and UJ SZO correspondents, a Hungarian radio correspondent was present), he refused the opportunity. In contrast, Mr Deutsch had a different opinion and agreed to answer some questions.

[Question] Why did you come to our republic and to Prague?

[Deutsch] We came as tourists.

[Question] As FIDESZ representatives, what did you expect from your participation in the unauthorized demonstration in Wenceslas Square?

[Deutsch] We did not reckon on any demonstration at all.

[Question] Was violence used against you during the investigation?

[Deutsch] They behaved very correctly toward me. I am a student of law, and thus know how apprehended persons are to be treated in custody.

[Question] What is the connection between the objectives of FIDESZ and your participation in the unauthorized demonstration in Prague? You could not possibly overlook the fact that there was a demonstration.

[Deutsch] I attended the demonstration exclusively as a private person.

[Question] Do you think that your participation in the unauthorized demonstration has contributed to the development of relations between the CSSR and the Hungarian People's Republic?

[Deutsch] This is a complicated question. Czechoslovak-Hungarian relations are not only relations between

states. I hope that those few Hungarian citizens who were among those thousands of Czechoslovak citizens in Wenceslas Square will not affect our mutual relations.

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The two apprehended men are obviously worried about possible prosecution.

There is no sense in discussing the extent of their offense. This will be decided by the bodies that are active in criminal proceedings or, possibly, a court. However, the two apprehended Hungarian citizens were among the active participants in the demonstration, and their action actually started the unauthorized demonstration. Understandably, today they are trying to play down their guilt. As could even be seen on television, they did not behave like the absolute majority of tourists, millions of whom visit Prague each year. Therefore, logically, as is customary in all sovereign countries, punishment must follow.

Hungarian TV Crew Denies Being Beaten

LD2508221289 Prague Television Service in Czech 2000 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Interview with unnamed members of Hungarian television crew in Prague by unidentified correspondent, in Hungarian with questions superimposed in Slovak and answers superimposed in Czech; date, place not given; no video available—recorded]

[Text] [Question] It has been alleged that the Hungarian television crew was beaten up in Prague [on 21 August]. Is this true?

[Answer] No one beat us. In fact there was no physical violence employed against us.

[Question] Did you know that the demonstration was not authorized?

[Answer] We learned that the demonstration was forbidden only when a vehicle carrying a loudspeaker appeared and when it appealed to the crowd to disperse. From that moment the assembly was unlawful, so we understood, and after the appeal we found ourselves outside the police cordon in Wenceslas Square. That was at about 1730.

[Question] Yesterday, one of your ministers stated that everyone going abroad must respect the laws of the state he is visiting. The assembly was not authorized. I knew that because I learned it from Hungarian newspapers but you probably did not know that.

[Answer] I would only remark that we are both journalists, reporters, and do not go to demonstrations in order to demonstrate, like you, a Czechoslovak television journalist in Hungary. Likewise, I myself did not go to Wenceslas Square for that purpose. I am a reporter and it is my duty to report events.

Hungarian Reports on CSSR Criticized

AU2808145989 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Aug 89 p 5

[Vojtech Vesely Budapest dispatch: "Lies Are Short-lived; Threats Against Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest"]

[Text] Budapest (From our correspondent)—**At Budapest airport on Wednesday [23 August] night, representatives and supporters of opposition parties and organizations welcomed like national heroes the seven Hungarian citizens who had been detained by Czechoslovak authorities because of their participation in an unauthorized gathering in Prague on Monday [21 August].**

Speaking on the third television newscast, two members of a Hungarian television crew provided details of their detainment and return. Yesterday's newspapers report on the experiences of the other detainees. It transpires from these eye-witness accounts that the information carried by some of Tuesday's [22 August] papers about Hungarian citizens having been brutally beaten in Prague "beyond recognition" (MAGYAR NEMZET) did not correspond to reality. Only one detainee, Laszlo Pesti, stated that "he got a few slaps." However, the relevant editorial offices somehow did not find the ethical strength to publicly revoke the fabrications they had published. Inspired by such reports, demonstrators in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest had themselves filmed next to a banner bearing the inscription "We Brought Flowers—We Received a Beating." In its Wednesday broadcast, Hungarian Television distorted the situation in front of the Czechoslovak mission, mistaking scores of people waiting for their visas for demonstrators. All dailies quote a lead article from the daily IGAZ SZO, published in Novi Sad, Yugoslavia, which, besides including personal insults to leading Czechoslovak officials, mendaciously claims that water cannons had been used against demonstrators in Prague. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 26 August on page 7 carries a 50-word correction stating that the name of the Hungarian-language Yugoslav paper referred to in Vesely's article should correctly read MAGYAR SZO]

It is characteristic that the Hungarian mass information media, which otherwise assert in all conceivable ways the correct demand for a state based on the rule of law, legality, and order, as well as noninterference in the internal affairs of Hungary from the outside, do not even ask what the citizens of the Hungarian People's Republic who were detained had been looking for in Wenceslas Square, at an event which was a supremely internal Czechoslovak affair? Nor do they ask what right one of them had to speak in Prague in the name of the Hungarian people?

These questions have been raised only by the Budapest organization of the F. Munnich Society (a left-wing current in the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party), which declared that **"it is with mixed feelings that we watch how**

the decisive officials of some organizations which proclaim themselves to be the foremost fighters for a state based on the rule of law consider compliance with legal norms to be binding only for others. By their unlawful action, they interfered in the internal affairs of a neighboring country, irresponsibly disregarding the fact that by doing so they might seriously jeopardize the situation of the Hungarian national minority in Czechoslovakia."

The daily press, however, assigned second place to this standpoint, while a prominent place is accorded to the pressure of the demand of the Union of Young Democrats (FIDESZ) that the Hungarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs take resolute steps to secure the "immediate release" of the two Hungarian citizens who are still detained. Otherwise, they will supposedly take steps of their own.

Speaking at a news conference after yesterday's government meeting, Gyula Horn, minister of foreign affairs of the Hungarian People's Republic, declared that the Hungarian citizens who traveled to Prague knew beforehand, from information published in good time by the Czechoslovak Government, that the gathering in Wenceslas Square had not been authorized. In defiance of this knowledge, they took part in it. He stressed, furthermore, that the laws of a country which one visits must be respected, whether someone likes it or not. He added that Czechoslovakia handles the right of assembly and the freedom of speech in a manner which differs from Hungary's. **It is not correct when Hungary insists on noninterference in its internal affairs, while some of its citizens attempt such interference in another country.**

Everything suggests that, in connection with the participation of some individuals in the Prague demonstration, a large proportion of the Hungarian press holds an irresponsible attitude and that, by spreading unfounded pieces of information, it stirs up anti-Czechoslovak emotions, disrupting all the positive results achieved in the development of relations between the Hungarian People's Republic and the CSSR to date. **A direct consequence of this campaign is the fact that yesterday the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest received an anonymous warning that it would be blown up. The embassy had to be inspected by a pyrotechnical expert.**

The intention of this campaign was revealed by the daily MAGYAR NEMZET in its lead article of 19 August: "It is in our national interest to give, by means of natural initiatives, a boost to the slowly maturing social awareness at home and elsewhere, including in the Soviet Union." In other words, to force the "Hungarian path" on neighboring socialist countries. Without resorting to allegory, this intention was also expressed by Czechoslovak oppositionist Vaclav Havel in an interview which Hungarian Television broadcast last week: "It would be ideal if, in the course of 1 year, as a consequence of power shocks and changes which I find it impossible to grasp, the same thing were to happen in Czechoslovakia as is taking place in Hungary today."

This statement needs no comment.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 August on page 7, under the headline "On a Wave of Emotions," carries a 700-word abridged version of Vesely's dispatch. The RUDE PRAVO version also includes two paragraphs which are missing from the PRAVDA version. In the first of them, Vesely quotes a statement by Istvan Lantos, a member of a Hungarian TV crew who was briefly detained in Prague, in which he denies Hungarian press reports that G. Kerenyi, one of the two FIDESZ activists still in prison in Prague, had been beaten. In the other, Vesely reports that, for the third consecutive day, three FIDESZ members have been holding a hunger strike in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, demanding the release of FIDESZ aktivists G. Kerenyi and T. Deutsch]

Reporter Rejects Claims by Budapest Protesters

LD2508220489 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] A group of young people from opposition circles in Hungary are still sitting outside the CSSR Embassy in Budapest this afternoon.

Zoltan Lovas, who was in Prague, answered my question about whether they know what happened in Prague—because a large number of Hungarian newspapers quoted from allegedly verified resources about bloody police interventions and the use of water cannon.

[Lovas in Hungarian, fading to Czech translation] Taking into account how many people violated public order on Wenceslas Square, we can say that the dispersion of the crowd was conducted in a humane manner. What needs to be stressed is the fact that the demonstration ended peacefully. In some instances, there were some actions against our citizens, and this is what we are protesting against. But there were no mass or bloody interventions [words indistinct]. Neither water cannon nor tear gas were used there.

Different views arise from the fact that in this group various parties and movements are represented. Which? The Hungarian Radical Party, The Alliance of Free Democrats, Workers' Solidarity, and others.

[Studio] As became clear in other parts of the interview, what mattered to a great majority of the participants in this protest was not just the release of the arrested Deutsch and Kerenyi. They attacked communism and did not take any account of the statement by Hungarian Foreign Minister Horn that everybody who travels abroad is obliged to observe the laws of every given state. None of those with whom I spoke had clear knowledge about the sovereign right of every state to decide its internal affairs. Allegedly, they even felt provoked—it means on one side, the right to everything, while on the

other side, the right to nothing [as heard]. It is characteristic of the political parties and groups which participated in the protest in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy.

Hungarians Not To Resume Protests Before 29 Aug

LD2708200489 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Tomas Barec report from Budapest]

[Text] That was the scene in front of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest where around 500 people from the opposition Federation of Young Democrats demanded the release of detained Hungarian citizens. Both rioters, Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi, had seriously disturbed public order in Prague on 21 August. Today's edition of VASARNAPI HIREK contacted Lajos Taba, the Hungarian Consul in Prague, on the telephone and asked him what he thought about such provocative actions. He replied that he had on more than one occasion requested those who had taken part in anti-Czechoslovak actions not to get involved in things the foreign-political consequences of which they could not estimate.

The Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest received a note from the Hungarian Foreign Ministry about a statement made by Peter Molnar, a member of the leadership of the opposition organization the Federation of Young Democrats. It says that the Federation of Young Democrats will not stage protest actions on the Czechoslovak territory until 29 August when the court proceeding against the two Hungarian citizens is to take place, but that they will make use of nonviolent means of protest only.

It has not however been discounted here in Budapest that certain right-wing groups in Hungary's opposition groupings may begin anti-Czechoslovak actions not only at home but also on the Czechoslovak territory.

'Technical Talks' on Hydroprojects To Begin

AU2808162789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 6

[Text] Budapest (CTK)—A meeting of Czechoslovak and Hungarian experts headed by Vladimir Lokvenc, commissioner of the Governments of the CSSR and the Slovak Socialist Republic for the construction and operation of the system of hydroprojects on the Danube, and Laszlo Udvari, commissioner of the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic for the Nagymaros project, has been held in Budapest.

The session discussed the Czechoslovak diplomatic note presented to the Hungarian side on 18 August. The note affirms the decision of the CSSR Government of 15 May to insist on the fulfillment of the agreement on the construction of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros hydroproject.

According to the MTI news agency, L Udvari asserted that until now the Czechoslovak side has not responded to the Hungarian proposals which were submitted on 20 July during the deliberations of premiers, and said that work on a standpoint on this document is currently under way.

The two sides have agreed to start technical talks on 26 August in Budapest.

UPI Accused of 'Gross Misuse' of Article

AU2808132389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 7

[Pavol Minarik Warsaw dispatch: "The UPI Correspondent's False Claim"]

[Text] At a news conference in Warsaw on Thursday [24 August], B. Turek, correspondent for the American UPI agency, asked Premier Mazowiecki "whether he has any plan how to win understanding for Polish affairs in Czechoslovakia, especially after RUDE PRAVO declared that his election is a nail in the coffin of socialism."

At issue is a gross misuse of a factual article of 19 August 1989 (second edition), in which RUDE PRAVO literally stated: "Solidarity officials have expressed satisfaction over current political developments in the country. 'This is the last nail in the coffin of the Communist Party's leading role,' Solidarity spokesman Janusz Onyszkiewicz declared."

And the premier's reply to the U.S. journalist's question? "I am not aware of any such declaration. I am open to all people and to mutual understanding. As the head of government who has been legally appointed by the highest representative body—the Polish Parliament—I will represent this government in its ties with all countries, with all neighbors, regardless of the reactions in one newspaper or another. I hope that all misunderstandings will be overcome," Mazowiecki said in conclusion.

RUDE PRAVO shares this point of view. That is the reason for these lines.

Vorotnikov Arrives for Uprising Anniversary

LD2508185989 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1630 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpt] A Soviet party and government delegation to the celebrations marking the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising in Banska Bystrica arrived in Sliac airport late in the afternoon. It is led by Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation. The Soviet guests were welcomed by Comrades Ignac Janak and Pavel Hrivnak. [passage omitted]

Jakes, Delegation Visit Banska Bystrica

LD2608101389 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] The official delegation headed by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee and chairman of the Central Committee of the National Front of Czechoslovakia, arrived in Banska Bystrica today to attend the statewise celebrations of the 45th anniversary of the Slovak National Uprising. Members of the delegations are Gustav Husak, president of the republic, federal prime minister Ladislav Adamec, and other representatives.

At the festively decorated Sliac Airport, Comrade Jakes and the members of the delegation were welcomed cordially by representatives of the party and state bodies of the Slovak Socialist Republic and the central Slovak region.

Adamec Congratulates Polish Premier Mazowiecki

LD2508170589 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Federal Premier Ladislav Adamec has sent a congratulatory telegram to Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his election to the post of the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

210 GDR Refugees in FRG Mission in Prague

AU2808182889 Mainz ZDF Television Network in German 1700 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The number of GDR refugees in the FRG Embassy in Prague has increased to 210. A total of 30 GDR citizens climbed over the embassy fence during the weekend [26-27 August].

CSSR Government Holds Plenary Session

AU2808122389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "The CSSR Government Holds Session"]

[Text] Prague—The CSSR Government held a plenary session in Prague on Thursday [24 August]. It discussed an analytical report on the development of the national economy in the first 6 months of this year. Economic growth slightly exceeded the targets of the plan. The development of the standard of living is, on the whole, in tune with this trend. The positive thing is that some existing negative trends—especially regarding the country's debt in freely convertible currencies, the unfounded growth of incomes, and the excessive or ineffective capital investment projects—have been successfully slowed down. This is also due to this year's mild winter and the favorable development of world prices.

The fundamental problems of the Czechoslovak economy continue, however. Extensive features still prevail in economic development, the technological standard and the quality of our products has not improved, and overall costs are growing. A number of enterprises are not fulfilling their plan, the structure of production has improved rather as the consequence of exceptional conditions than the adopted programs, such as the reduction of coal extraction and the conversion of armament production. The strain in the state budget is growing, and signs of imbalance and inflationary pressures are emerging.

The supply of a number of items, especially industrial goods, has improved as a result of the measures adopted by the CSSR Government. But the complete elimination of disruptions in supply has not been successfully achieved , and in some places new problems have even been emerging. In the work of the retail trade sector the shortcomings that have appeared on the market with some types of foodstuffs are disquieting, and so is the reduction of the deliveries of basic inexpensive kinds of products to the market and, in some instances, the considerable hikes in average retail trade prices. The situation in the construction and modernization of apartments has not improved.

The CSSR Government has already gradually adopted a number of measures designed to eliminate these shortcomings. In particular, deliveries to the domestic market in excess of the originally planned volume have been stepped up, among other things, also by making greater use of foreign exchange resources. Startups of new projects have been temporarily curbed in the interest of improving the the smooth flow of construction. The regulation of the development of incomes has become more effective and it is being more closely linked with genuine performance and results. These things, however, represent only the first steps, the effect of which has not yet been able to make itself fully felt, or bring about a decisive turn, and speed up the dynamism and strengthen the balance of the economy. Therefore, the CSSR Government has entrusted all its members with the task of preparing and implementing a further package of measures, designed mainly to improve the financial situation, restore the economic balance, eliminate shortages of goods and in services on our market, and strengthen the volume and efficiency of exports to sophisticated markets.

The CSSR Government acquainted itself with the evaluation of the Czechoslovak participation in the Comprehensive Program for the CEMA Member Countries' Scientific-Technical Progress Through the Year 2000. Czechoslovak organizations are participating in the solution of 622 out of the program's 1,300 specific tasks. Out of this number they have already dealt with 200 and have completed 63 of them, developing 311 prototypes of equipment and instruments, materials and technologies. Analysis of the realization of the comprehensive program to date reveals that the finalized solutions have not been successfully introduced into production, that

not all solved tasks have world technological and economic parameters, that duplication persists in several CEMA member states when it comes to resolving tasks, which makes the subsequent specialization and cooperation difficult, and the work on large goal-oriented scientific-production and technological projects is lagging considerably behind the agreed deadlines.

The CSSR Government issued instructiona to carry out a precise stocktaking of the current state of affairs, assess the concluded research and development tasks, tranfer them in production, and work out a proposal on dropping finished and unpromising tasks.

The CSSR Government approved principles for the CSSR permament representative to follow at the planned 132d session of CEMA's Executive Committee.

From a report submitted to it, the CSSR Government acquainted itself with the situation in passenger transportation provided by the CSAD [Czechoslovak National Freignt and Bus Transport] after 1990, concentrating in particular on the transportation of people to and from work. In addition to ensuring the planned transportation tasks in the Ninth 5-Year Plan, improving the quality of transportation is another fundamental objective. The government issued the instruction that the report is to be used as the basis for the preparation of the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The principles for legally amending flexible work time, which the CSSR Government approved, are linked with the results of the public discussion on the amendment of the Labor Code and the conclusions of the statewide conference of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement. The principles provide heads of organizations the possibility, after taking into consideration operational needs and with the assent of the appropriate trade union body, of introducing flexible working time and thus give employees the opportunity of choosing, within a certain leeway, the start and end of their work time.

The CSSR Government approved a proposal to set up an institute for enhancing qualifications of leading technical cadres attached to the Czech College of Technology in Prague and the Slovak College of Technology in Bratislava, and an institute for enhancing qualifications of ranking personnel attached to the Advanced Schools of Economics in Prague and Bratislava. Their main task will be to ensure high professional training of ranking personnel of state enterprises and cooperative organizations in both the economic sphere and in directing scientific-technical development and managing the preproduction stages.

The CSSR Government discussed and approved a standpoint on the agreements and recommendations adopted at the 74th session of the International Labor Conference in 1987. It decided to ratify agreements No 163 on social welfare for sailors at sea and in ports, and No 164 on sailors health protection and medical treatment. Further, it approved the ratification of agreement No 102 on social security, and No 128 on pensions for the physically handicapped, and old age and widows pensions. The CSSR Minister of Foreign Affairs was entrusted with the task of informing the director of the International Labor Office that the CSSR considers itself to be bound by the aforementioned agreements to the extent agreed.

The government heard a CSSR Interior Ministry report on the situation in the country. It expressed appreciation for the work of security formations and their prudent intervention during the antisocialist actions on 21 August 1989.

Vodrazka Arrives in Moscow for Talks on Plans

AU2808153489 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 7

[Report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] Ladislav Vodrazka, CSSR deputy premier and minister for the metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, arrived in Moscow on Thursday [24 August] for talks on concretizing CSSR-USSR plans for the next 5-year plan period. This will involve, in particular, maintaining the level of Czechoslovak exports of engineering goods to the USSR, increasing imports of Soviet engineering products, and seeking new forms of cooperation within the framework of direct ties between the industrial enterprises of both countries.

Meets With Belousov

AU2808154289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 7

[CTK report in the "24 Hours Abroad" column]

[Text] L. Vodrazka, CSSR deputy premier and minister of metallurgy, engineering, and electrotechnical industry, met with I Belousov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the Military-Industrial Commission of the USSR Council of Ministers, in Moscow on Friday [25 August]. He discussed with him fundamental issues concerning the exchange and utilization of special technology in connection with the conversion of the defense industry.

FRG Visas Granted at CSSR Travel Agencies

AU2508120589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Michal Kuzmiak and Dalibor Macha report: "FRG Visas Via Travel Agencies"]

[Excerpts] Prague (From our own correspondents)—On the basis of Tuesday's [22 August] CTK report concerning the closure of the FRG Embassy in Prague, several readers telephoned our editorial office on Wednesday with inquiries as to how they can now obtain a West German visa. [passage omitted]

As we ascertained at the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, talks were held there on Wednesday morning with Hermann Huber, the FRG ambassador to the CSSR, in connection with the closure of the embassy. It was agreed that the FRG representative mission will grant entry visas to our citizens through Czechoslovak travel agencies (CEDOK, REKREA, and others). The only exception will involve applications for visas which were submitted at the embassy before 23 August. These visas will be issued to applicants at the embassy. At the same time, the West German Embassy will rent rooms in the Hotel Jalta on Wenceslas Square in order to carry out consular duties for FRG citizens.

In light of the fact that this exceptional situation (the closure of the embassy) arose as a consequence of the presence of approximately 100 GDR citizens in the building of the representative mission, the Czechoslovak side has referred to the Vienna agreements on diplomatic and consular contacts, first and foremost, to Article 41, Item 3 ("mission accommodation must not be used in a manner incompatible with the mission's functions as laid down by this agreement or by other regulations of general international law or the special agreements which apply to the embassy country and the host country"). The Czechoslovak side emphasized that the FRG representative mission should operate in the interest of maintaining a good atmosphere of mutual relations and contacts in all spheres.

The problem of granting FRG visas to our citizens is not by any means a neglected matter, and this is borne out by the fact that during this year's tourist high season the West German mission issued up to 4,000 visas daily.

Urban Receives GDR Finance Minister

AU2808154889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] On Friday [25 August] in Prague, Bohumil Urban, CSSR first deputy premier, received Ernst Hoefner, GDR finance minister, who is in the CSSR for an official visit. They briefed each other on the contemporary state of and prospects for the economic development of their countries, on the problems of commercial exchange, and on supplying the domestic market, first and foremost, with consumer goods. Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, was also present. On the same day, the guest discussed the development of mutual tourism and other issues with Jan Stejskal, the CSSR finance minister.

Leaders Congratulate Afghanistan on National Day

AU2208092189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ [Czechoslovak Communist Party] Central Committee; CSSR President Gustav Husak; and CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, have sent a congratulatory telegram to Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan [PDPA] and president of the Republic of Afghanistan; and Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, member of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, on the occasion of their country's national day—Independence Day.

The telegram states, among other things, that the proclamation of Afghanistan's independence 70 years ago has become an important milestone in the long and valiant struggle of the Afghan people against foreign colonizers and oppressors. It is on these profound historic traditions that the country's leadership is currently building its principled policy, designed to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Afghanistan and the right of its people to decide about their future freely and without foreign interference.

Miroslav Stepan Receives ZIL Director General

AU2808154989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "A Representative of the ZIL Association is in Prague"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [25 August] in Prague Miroslav Stepan, member of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Prague CPCZ City Committee, received Yevgeniy Brakov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee and director general of the Moscow ZIL Association, who is in the CSSR at the invitation of the Avia Prague state enterprise. Avia is formulating direct production and development cooperation with this, the largest car factory in the Soviet Union.

In their discussion, Miroslav Stepan and Yevgeniy Brakov considered experiences from CPCZ and CPSU work in the reform process and in reconstruction under the conditions prevailing in the Prague and Moscow party organizations. They briefed each other on the socio-political situation in their countries. During their conversation, they referred to the fact that the processes in the socialist states have an international character; however, at the same time, the enemies of socialism are internationalizing their subversive actions, as the provocation this year on 21 August in the center of Prague has proven.

During the talks, support was also expressed for the ZIL-Avia-Renault project for the production of a new type of medium sized heavy vehicle.

Spokesman Supports UN's Appeal on Lebanon

AU2208095289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 18 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report: "On the Situation in Lebanon"]

[Text] Prague—Late on Tuesday [15 August] night, the UN Security Council appealed for a complete and immediate cease-fire in Lebanon. Javier Perez de Cuellar, the UN general secretary, had convened the UN Security Council on the basis of Article 99 of the UN Charter, which gives him the authority to submit problems that are a danger to international peace. A CTK reporter asked Ivan Kulhanek, press spokesman for the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs, to comment on the CSSR's stance on this step:

We fully support the UN Security Council's appeal of 16 August and we call upon all hostile sides to urgently accept it. The sides which are participating in the conflict should make use of the UN Security Council's appeal and the League of Arab Nations' efforts at mediation and should renounce all attempts to use force. The use of military methods in the Middle East only leads to further dangerous escalations, increases the suffering of the Lebanese people, and pushes the resolution of the fundamental issue—the withdrawal of Israeli troops from South Lebanon—into the background.

We are convinced that it is essential to deal with Lebanon's internal political problems only via peaceful negotiations, while adhering to the principle of the unity, sovereignty, and independence of the country.

Joint Computer Company Established With France

AU2408112689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 22 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "Reports, Current Affairs, and Information" column: "Elteco in Zilina"]

[Text] Zilina—The Czechoslovak-French partnership, Elteco, with its headquarters in Zilina, is the newest and already the fifth electrical engineering plant to be set up in the CSSR with foreign participation. It will produce connectors to be used in computer technology, automation, and cybernetics. On 1 September 1989, 2 months after it was founded, the plant will begin production and the majority of its components will be exported. At a later stage, they will also be produced for enthusiasts in the CSSR and in the CEMA countries. The Computer Technology Research Institute in Zilina founded the Elteco partnership with the French company K. Serras S/A of Rungis [name of company and placename as published]. Both sides will provide capital for a minimum of 10 years. The plant will mainly be involved in industrial production and the innovation of connector systems, testing equipment, electronic modules and equipment, computer systems, and programming equipment, as well as research, development, and trade.

Fojtik Attends East Slovak Party Conference

LD2808101189 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 0800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] The current internal political situation and the party's tasks up to the 18th Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ] Congress are on the agenda of a conference of East Slovak regional party organizations' activists and functionaries which has opened today in Kosice. Attending the session is Jan Fojtik, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee.

Slovak, Ukrainian Culture Ministers Sign Accord

AU2308143689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Aug 89 p 2

[Report in the "International Contacts" column]

[Text] On Monday [21 August] in Bratislava ministers Pavel Koys and Yuriy Olenenko signed an agreement on cooperation between the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] Ministry of Culture and the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic Ministry of Culture for the years 1989-91. Both ministries will assist in the expansion and intensification of cultural cooperation between Slovakia and the Ukraine and they will support the initiative and proposals of local cultural organs and artistic institutions which are aimed at acquainting working people with the cultural values of both sides. Stefan Murin, Slovak SR first deputy premier, also received Yuriy Olenenko on the same day.

Slovak Government Session Proceedings Noted

AU2408161889 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[CTK report: "Report From a Slovak Socialist Republic Government Session"]

[Excerpt] Bratislava—At its session yesterday the Slovak Socialist Republic [SR] Government discussed, with the participation of the chairmen of the regional national committees and the mayor of Bratislava, a report on the development of the Slovak SR national economy, the fulfillment of the state plan during the first 6 months of 1989, and the prerequisites for its guaranteed implementation until the end of this year.

The report stated that tasks in individual branches and sectors of the economy have been realized with varying intensity. While industrial production, particularly in engineering, declined and while stagnation in the basic output of the building industry grew, the gross domestic product increased, in comparison with the same period last year, by a level of 2 percent, due mainly to a reduction in production consumption and the successful fulfillment of tasks in agriculture. The government steered the state organs and the economic sphere toward paying particular attention in the future to the preparation and smoother coming on stream of capacities in the

chemical and glass industries, and to assisting structural changes in engineering. In the construction industry, it is necessary to realize the measures which were adopted by the CSSR Government to increase the efficiency of this branch and to coordinate in a planned manner the gradual structural changes in suppliers' capacities in order to strengthen the construction of economically important schemes and ecological projects, as well as comprehensive housing construction. In agricultural production it is necessary to increase supplies of meat products to the market by 2,000-3,000 tonnes and to create reserves of feed grains. In the finance and economy sphere, it is necessary to complete the analysis of the income situation in state enterprises, concentrating on the growth of the efficiency of economic organizations which are incapable of being self-financed under the new economic conditions.

In connection with fulfilling the plan, the report considered the situation in supplying the population and the contemporary problems in the domestic market. It critically referred to shortcomings in distribution and the coordination of supplies, more than once caused by the commercial organizations, as a consequence of which, for example, a sufficient supply of fruit and vegetables is lacking in the northern parts of Slovakia. At the same time, the government charged the departments involved with improving supplies to the market, particularly, sought-after industrial goods and, in cases where the adopted resolutions have not been fulfilled, with drawing conclusions, including cadre sanctions.

The report considered the situation in the construction sector and adopted measures to guarantee the tasks arising from the CSSR Government resolution. It set the Slovak SR minister of construction and the building industry the task of preparing proposals to improve the state and efficiency of this branch in 1990.

It took note of the program for the process of preparing and carrying out repairs and maintenance to the housing stock during the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

It discussed the development of agricultural and forest land resources in the Slovak SR during 1988. An analysis of the shrinking area of agricultural and, in particular, arable land in comparison with the years 1966-88 shows that more consistent measures and higher levies for the continual appropriation of quality land has succeeded in limiting, first and foremost, the shrinkage of arable land appropriated for industrial production and agricultural construction. [passage omitted]

Bumper Grain Crop in West Slovakia Reported

AU2408131589 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 23 Aug 89 p 1

[Jana Janku article: "Grain Growers Who Compare Favorably With the World"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The farmers of the West Slovak region produced almost 2,082,000 tonnes of grain this year. This means that they harvested an average of 5.86 tonnes of grain per hectare. This is the best crop and highest production in the history of the socialist sector. [passage omitted]

Czech National Council Deputy Elected

AU2808155989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Aug 89 p 2

[Report in the "By Telex, Mail, and Telephone" column]

[Text] The Czech National Front Election Commission convened in Prague on Friday [25 August]. It discussed and approved a final report on the course of a by-election in the Czech National Council [CNR] Constituency No 38—Nymburk, which took place on 24 August. Marcela Manhartova was elected as a CNR deputy when she gained more than 50 percent of the valid votes.

Kymlicka Made Chairman of Palestine Committee

AU2808161589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 2

[CTK report in the "International Relations" column]

[Text] Bohuslav Kucera, deputy chairman of the CSSR Federal Assembly, introduced Milan Kymlicka, minister of culture of the Czech Socialist Republic, into the post of chairman of the Palestine Committee attached to the Czechoslovak Society for International Relations, in Prague on Thursday [24 August]. The solemn ceremony was attended by Samih Abdul Fattah, ambassador of Palestine to the CSSR, and representatives of Czechoslovak political and cultural life.

Secretary Zajic Evaluates 1989 Harvest

AU2808162389 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 1

["nn"-signed report: "This Year's Harvest Estimate—About 12 Million Tonnes of Grain Crops; Comrade Miroslav Zajic's News Conference"]

[Text] Prague (From our correspondent)— This year's harvest of basic cereals is estimated at more than 11 million tonnes. When corn is included, the harvest of grain crops will reach about 12 million tonnes. With more than 92 percent of the area under cereals now harvested, the harvest has reached its closing phase. This was declared by Miroslav Zajic, secretary of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia Central Committee, at a meeting with journalists in Prague on Thursday [24 August].

He went on to say that during the first 7 months of this year the state procured [from agricultural enterprises] 19,250 tonnes more meat, 160 million more liters of milk, and 13 million more eggs than in the same period last year. On balance, the situation in the Czechoslovak agriculture-food complex in the first year of its operation under the new economic mechanism can be described as

promising. Things are far from perfect, however. The problem of storing grain is repeating itself this year. According to estimates, we are short of storage capacity for 1.3 million tonnes of grain. There has also been a lack of poultry on the market in some cities, caused by the shortage of imported components for feed mixtures. The effort to replace them with domestically manufactured components and to use alternative feed resources proved to be insufficiently effective. To come to terms with the situation, the following measures have been adopted—extraordinary imports of protein components, suspension of the export of chicks, an import of them from Hungary, and movements of supplies among regions.

M Zajic said, furthermore: "When we introduced the new economic mechanism and brought about changes in the organizational structure of the agriculture-food complex, fears were heard that the stability of the food market might be upset. As we are able to state today, nothing of that sort has happened." The agriculture-food complex can be qualified as a prosperous and consolidated branch which meets its tasks. For most items, the food industry's deliveries to the market are higher than planned. In the first half of the year, above-plan deliveries amounted to almost Kcs2 billion. Compared with the same period last year, vegetable supplies to shops increased almost 29 percent, fruit supplies 11 percent, and cheese supplies 3.5 percent. With the exception of local occurrences of poultry shortage, the demand for meat has been satisfied.

It is apparent that the overwhelming majority of agricultural and food industry enterprises are capable of responding flexibly to the new conditions of management and of finding ways of making better use of their potentials. This is of great economic as well as political significance for the further course of reform in our society.

Sentences on Two Accused of Sedition Confirmed

LD2808163289 Prague CTK in English 1547 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Prague Aug 28 (CTK)—The regional court in Hradec Kralove, East Bohemia, today rejected appeals by Frantisek Starek and Iva Vojtkova, who were condemned by the district court in Usti Nad Orlici on June 28, 1989 for a criminal act of sedition and assistance to this criminal act.

At a public session, the regional court today confirmed Frantisek Starek's sentence to two and a half years' imprisonment and Iva Vojtkova's suspended sentence to one year's imprisonment.

Convict Frantisek Starek produced and disseminated for almost two years printed matter hostile to the socialist state system. Iva Vojtkova assisted him with this activity.

New Radio Station for Young People To Air

AU2808160089 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 25 Aug 89 p 2

["In"-signed report: "Radio Station for the Young About To Start Broadcasting"]

[Excerpts] Prague—As we have already reported, a new Czechoslovak radio station for young people, called "em," will start to broadcast on Monday, 4 September. At a news conference in Prague on Thursday [24 August], "em" editors spoke about the content and mission of the new station, which should focus on listeners aged 15 to 18. The bulk of the air time will be taken up by music of all genres, and the "hit parades" are likely to arouse the greatest amount of attention. [passage omitted] The "night line," which will deal with the most intimate problems of young people, is also certain to become a sought-after program. Discussion programs will also be given air time.

The new station will broadcast in the ultra-shortwave II band, between 1500 and 2300 every day. Temporarily, the program will also be broadcast in the mediumwave band, at 1071 kHz. For the time being, the ultra-shortwave II band can be received throughout only about 40 percent of the territory.

Opposition Appeal Signatures Denied, Revoked

AU2808105389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 25 August, in the "From Letters to the Editor" column on page 3, carries a 100-word statement by Josef Osmera, a physician from Most in North Bohemia, entitled "I Do Want Not To Have Anything In Common With This." In the statement, Osmera expresses his "astonishment and indignation" at the fact that Radio Free Europe cited his name among the signatories of the "A Few Sentences" appeal, "resolutely protests" against the "manipulative" use of his name "in connection with the antisocial and antisocialist activity of illegal groups," and asserts that he never supported the appeal with his signature.

In the same column, RUDE PRAVO carries a 100-word excerpt from a letter sent to the editorial office by Jiri Langmajer, an actor from Prague. In the letter, Langmajer concedes that in July, acting "under the impact of the atmosphere of heated emotions and debates in actors' circles," he added his name under the "A Few Sentences" appeal. He says that at that time he did not know anything about the "political background" of the appeal. Meanwhile, Langmajer continues, he has found out about the "true meaning of the campaign and the aims of its organizers" and "realized the consequences." This is why he has decided to "revoke" his signature, Langmajer says in conclusion.

On 26 August, on page 2, RUDE PRAVO carries a 300-word Jan Kliment commentary entitled "Acknowledging a Mistake Is Also a Deed." In the commentary,

Kliment appreciates Jiri Langmajer's "public admission" of his "mistake" as an "expression of human and civic honesty." He also expresses the belief that Langmajer was not the only artist to have yielded "to mass emotions and, possibly, to a certain pressure" and to have signed the appeal. In this context Kliment deplores the fact that "emotions which are not a long way from thoughtless hysteria" have taken hold in "some artists' circles" and asks "who it is that is forming in some collectives an atmosphere which borders on psychological terror."

On the same day, in the "From Letters to the Editor" column on page 3, RUDE PRAVO carries a 250-word letter by Jana Peychlova, a physician from Kolin, entitled "Protection of the Personality." In her letter, Peychlova says that she was "literally shocked" when a friend told her that "on Saturday, 12 August either the Voice of America or Radio Free Europe mentioned my name in connection with the 'A Few Sentences' campaign of collecting signatures." She notes that, in view of her profession, her name appears on hundreds of official documents and is easy to imitate and informs RUDE PRAVO that, "because my good name and the honor of my family have been defamed," she has "handed over the matter to the district prosecutor in Kolin for further action."

Leaders' Public Appearances for 17-23 Aug

AU2508142389

[Editorial Report] Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech, and Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak from 18 to 24 August report the following appearances of CSSR leaders (sourceline given in parentheses):

The reception marking the Afghan national day in Prague on 17 August was attended by Frantisek Hanus, Jozef Lenart, and Miroslav Stepan. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Aug 89 p 2)

During his visit to Melnik District on 23 August, Karel Urbanek and Josef Haman attended a meeting of the CPCZ District Committee. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug 89 p 2)

An award ceremony for recipients of the National Prize of the Slovak Socialist Republic at Batislava Castle on 23 August was attended by Pavel Hrivnak and Ignac Janak. (PRAVDA 24 Aug 89 p 1)

Ignac Janak, CPCZ (Czechoslovak Communist Party) Central Committee Presidium member and first secretary of the CPSL Central Committee (Slovak Communist Party Central Committee), paid a visit to the Agrokomplex 89 exhibition in Nitra on 21 August. (RUDE PRAVO 22 Aug 89 p 2) He presented to Stefan Rybar, member of the CPSL Central Committee Presidium and leading secretary of the Bratislava CPSL City Committee, the Order of Labor on the occasion of the latter's 50th birthday, in Bratislava on 22 August. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Aug 89 p 2)

Frantisek Hanus, CPCZ Central Committee secretary, paid a visit to the Poldi United Steel Works in Kladno on 22 August. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Aug 89 p 2)

Pavel Hrivnak, candidate member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Slovak premier, presented to Stefan Balo, chairman of the Nitra District national committee, the Order of Victorious February on the occasion of the latter's 60th birthday, in Bratislava on 18 August. (PRAVDA 19 Aug 89 p 2)

Miroslav Zavadil, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium member and chairman of the Central Trade Union Council, paid a visit to miners in the Kladno area on 17 August. (RUDE PRAVO 18 Aug 89 p 2)

Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs, received the new U.S. ambassador to the CSSR, Shirley Temple-Black, in connection with the upcoming presentation of her credentials, in Prague on 22 August. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Aug 89 p 2) He received Sa'if Muhsin Husayn, the ambassador of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in Prague on 22 August. (RUDE PRAVO 23 Aug 89 p 2) He was present when the new U.S. ambassador, Shirley Temple-Black, presented her credentials to CSSR President Gustav Husak in Prague on 24 August. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug 89 p 1) He received Aguinaldo Lisboa Ramos, secretary of state for foreign affairs of the Cape Verde Islands, in Prague on 23 August. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug 89 p 2)

Frantisek Kincl, CSSR minister of interior, received ranking functionaries of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, in Prague on 23 August. (RUDE PRAVO 24 Aug 89 p 2)

Honecker Sends Public Message of Thanks

LD2808163389 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1605 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, has addressed the public with the following thanks:

On my birthday I received many warm congratulations and wishes for recovery from comrades and friends, from citizens of our Republic in cities and the countryside, for which I give thanks just as warmly in this way. All the evidence of the links and communality in our great cause of socialism and peace strengthens me in the conviction that we will continue to successfully realize the policies decided by the 11th SED Congress.

Former Honecker Adviser on Economic Problems

AU2508210889 Vienna Television Service in German 2000 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Interview with Professor Wolfgang Seifert from Kiel, "former economic adviser of GDR head of state Honecker," by news moderator Hubert Nowak, with Seifert speaking from a studio in Hamburg, on 25 August—live]

[Text] [Nowak] Good evening, Professor Seifert.

[Seifert] Good evening, Mr Nowak.

[Nowak] Professor, does it now look as if Honecker might indeed be overthrown or is the GDR really too stable for that?

[Seifert] No, actually the GDR has slid into the most profound crisis of its existence with and because of Honecker and the many would-be emigrants who are trying to reach the FRG everywhere are only the external sign of the internal crisis.

[Nowak] Is there such a broad stratum of reformist politicians as we know it from other East Bloc countries? Does such a stratum also exist in the GDR?

[Seifert] Yes, I think so, but it probably is below the Politburo level. I do not see any renowned reformer within the Politburo of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED], but I see many forces that are willing to carry out reforms within the SED itself, also in the Central Committee, at the lower echelons, and outside the SED. But, I think, that in this connection one has to keep in mind two things: First, the SED is not a party with an internal democratic structure but a political order with military discipline, where everything is ordered from above, and, therefore, the forces at the grassroots level have difficulties making their voices heard above. Second, compared with Poland or Hungary, the GDR has one particular quality—it is only a partial state within the German nation, and therefore, I think, political reforms in the GDR will work only if they are linked with all-German prospects. But these two things, such reforms that change the system and all-German prospects, cannot be expected from Honecker's leading group.

[Nowak] From the FRG's viewpoint, too, the situation is unstable because the FRG is walking a tightrope—on the one hand, it has always called for opening up and for liberalization, but now, it seems to become afraid of a development it can no longer control.

[Seifert] It is certainly correct that the FRG's Germany policy has also slid into a crisis, because it is becoming obvious that through the policy of small steps alone, which has been pursued toward the GDR by Bonn for years, things cannot be mastered, cannot be kept in check. Therefore, the FRG has to decide—and there are already indications of this—to go one step further, to offer reforms or, rather, support for domestic reforms to the GDR; this, too, only works if the FRG clearly says that these measures have to have prospects that apply to all of Germany. It is unclear whether Bonn is willing to do this.

[Nowak] Could this support also be economic support? After all, the GDR is practically being drained, if one takes into consideration that about 1.5 million citizens want to emigrate from the GDR, and those are mostly well-qualified people—doctors, skilled workers, etc.

[Seifert] Yes, this is absolutely correct. Economic and financial aid by the FRG would be useful, but, again, only under certain preconditions. As long as the GDR's economic system is and remains as it is now, that is, a centralist economy based on commands from above, financial and economic aid from the FRG cannot bring about any decisive changes. However, any turning toward more market economy, toward the independence of the GDR's economic enterprises naturally is an approach to the FRG's economic system and a step toward the reestablishment of an all-German economy. In this respect, this again is influenced by politics.

[Nowak] Thank you very much, Professor Seifert in Hamburg. Good night.

[Seifert] Good night.

SED Delegation Arrives in Mongolia for Visit

AU2908130489 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "SED Delegation Welcomed on Visit to Mongolian People's Republic"]

[Excerpt] Ulaanbaatar (ADN)—On Thursday [24 August] a delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Siegfried Lorenz, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk leadership, arrived in the Mongolian People's Republic for a several-day visit. At the airport of the capital city, the delegation was cordially welcomed by Bujyn Dejid, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. [passage omitted]

Group Seeks To Form Social Democratic Party

LD2808155489 Hamburg DPA in German 1414 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—An initiative group with the aim of founding a Social Democratic Party [SPD] has been called into life in the GDR. The founding of the group was proposed during a human rights seminar in the evangelical Golgatha Parish. This was reported on Monday in East Berlin. In the appeal, was signed by four parish priests and a member of the "Peace and Human Rights" initiative, it says that, as the formation of an SPD is not at present legally possible, the initiative group should work out the preconditions for "a legal founding of the party and its preparation."

The authors write in support of parliamentary democracy and plurality of parties, social market economy with a strict banning of monopolies to prevent the undemocratic concentration of economic power, worker participation in enterprises, trade union freedom and the right to strike, and freedom of association, assembly, and of the press. In the foreign policy section of their paper they demand the recognition of the "two-state situation in Germany as a consequence of the guilt of the past," which does not, however, exclude possible change within the framework of a European peace order. "Special relations" should be built up with the Federal Republic.

An "unsparing critical assessment of the intellectual, political, economic, and ecological situation" is necessary. The basic principle of democratic renewal is "demonopolization and democratization of power in state and society." That does not mean lifting the state monopoly of power, but "democratic control of the individual state institutions equipped with clearly restricted competence."

As was also reported, different initiatives have concerned themselves with the possible setting-up of parties in Leipzig as well. Apart from the SPD, there is talk of a "Free Democratic Union." The many grassroots and human rights groups are to be brought together in a "democratic initiative."

New Director of Military History Institute Named

AU2808160789 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 25 Aug 89 p 2

[ADN report: "New Director of GDR Military History Institute"]

[Excerpts] Potsdam (ADN)—At a festive event in Potsdam on Thursday [24 August], Major General Prof Dr Reinhard Bruehl, director of the GDR Military History Institute, retired from active military service. [passage omitted]

On the same day, Colonel Prof Dr Paul Heider was introduced as new director of the Military History Institute.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 9-22 Aug

AU2508131089

[Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 10 to 23 August reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication and page number in parentheses):

The following Politburo members and candidate members attended a workers' meeting in Erfurt on 14 August: Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] and chairman of the GDR State Council; Guenter Mittag, secretary of the SED Central Committee; Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Gerhard Mueller, first secretary of the Erfurt Bezirk leadership. (15 Aug, p 1)

Politburo Member Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received Mongolian official for talks in Berlin on 21 August. (22 Aug, p 1)

Politburo Member Werner Eberlein, first secretary of the Magdeburg Bezirk leadership, visited a water management enterprise in Zerbst Kreis on 11 August. (12-13 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Guenther Kleiber, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, received the outgoing Norwegian ambassador in Berlin on 9 August (10 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Werner Jarowinsky, secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended a reception by the SWAPO representative in Berlin on 16 August. (17 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Egon Krenz, secretary of the SED Central Committee, received outgoing Argentine, Sudanese ambassadors in Berlin on 9 August. (10 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Werner Krolikowski, secretary of the SED Central Committee, attended peasants' meeting in Halle on 10 August. (11 Aug, p 1)

Politburo Member Erich Mueckenberger attended a reception by the Ecuadoran ambassador in Berlin on 10 August. (11 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Alfred Neumann, first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, attended a reception by the Congolese ambassador in Berlin on 15 August. (16 Aug, p 5)

Politburo Member Guenter Schabowski, first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, attended the opening ceremony of a zoological exhibition in Berlin on 20 August. (21 Aug, p 8)

Politburo Candidate Member Gerhard Schuerer attended a reception by the Afghan ambassador in Berlin on 18 August. (19-20 Aug, p 2)

Politburo Member Harry Tisch, chairman of the National Executive Council of the Free German Trade Union Federation, received French trade union official Michel Warcholak in Berlin on 22 August. (23 Aug, p 2)

Further Reportage on Prague Detainees Case

Detainee Details Incident

LD2508184189 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpt] No decision can be expected until tomorrow afternoon in the case of the two Hungarian citizens still detained in Prague. Evelyn Forro reports:

[Forro] The leading judge of the Prague first district has said that the judicial decision regarding the case of Gyorgy Kerenyi and Tamas Deutsch will be pronounced tomorrow afternoon at 1500. The Hungarian consul will be present. Josef [name indistinct] is ready to defend the two young men, if necessary. He is a very well-trained advocate, who has defended, Vaclav Havel, among others. Thus, no further developments can be expected until tomorrow afternoon.

This morning, the consul was allowed to visit Kerenyi and Deutcsh. The Hungarian radio and RUDE PRAVO correspondents also were allowed to be present at the meeting. Afterwards Deutsch answered our questions. Kerenyi did not wish to make a statement. I asked Tamas Deutsch about the circumstances of his arrest:

[Begin recording] [Deutsch] I was standing by the bus and saw that my friend Kerenyi, I think I can call him that, as I have met him several times during the past 9 days, and my friend Akos Laszlo Nemeth, who I have known for a long time, were sitting in the bus, with their hands together. Then a gentlemen in a white shirt came up to the bus, who saw me and beckoned me with his finger...

[Forro] Was he a civilian?

[Deutsch] Yes, so I thought that if a civilian beckons me, why should I go? After all, I did not know who he was. Then several policemen rushed at me from the side of the bus. I tried to back off; there was a wall 2 meters behind me. Then these civilians twisted my arms behind my back, began to push me toward the bus, which was about 6 to 8 meters away. In the meantime, policemen took me over and started to beat my back like madmen. There is still this bruise on my shoulder, for example. At the door of the bus, a nice young Czechoslovak officer saw me approaching and twice hit me in the stomach. That was all. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Horn on Detainees

LD2908021589 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1800 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Interview with Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn by unidentified announcer on the "First Hand Information" program on 28 August, place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Announcer] Foreign Minister Gyula Horn this morning summoned Stefan Oross, the temporary charge d'affaires of the Czechoslovak Embassy in Budapest, and protested against procedures applied toward two Hungarian citizens arrested during the Prague demonstrations on 21 August. In our conversation, the Foreign Minister began by justifying this diplomatic step.

[Begin recording] [Horn] Before the prosecutor's accusation we requested the Czechoslovak authorities examine the case of goodwill and let us try to bring it to a close.

Taking into consideration all the stances we have formulated earlier on, I think that the case or the legal proceedings are not important or significant enough to merit the path the Czechoslovak authorities have chosen.

[Announcer] Is it not so that the Czechoslovaks were looking for a case with which to test the strength of Hungarian-Czechoslovak intergovernmental and interparty relations?

[Horn] I do not understand how it is that Czechoslovak young people, who also committed violent acts, were released, while at the same time they have held out the prospect of tough procedures against Hungarian young people. It is possible that they want to create an example. I also suppose that there were lots of things which played a role in this, including the festive speech on Saturday which was delivered here, in Slovakia, in which various Panorama programs were criticised.

Thus, on the basis of this they wanted to create an example. However, considering all this, I think that in this case the Czechoslovak authorities did not proceed circumspectly. I think that we are talking about political questions here, questions which, supposedly or probably, are motivated by momentary interests and not some sort of intention which would hold back or in any way undermine Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations.

[Announcer] Isn't there a danger that Hungary will be gradually isolated here, in the middle of Eastern Europe? There are more and more signs in Hungarian-Czechoslovak relations echoing what has come about in the recent past in Hungarian-Romanian relations.

[Horn] Yes, this danger exists. This danger exists from the point of view that in some way everything which is taking place in Hungary today is conceivably an irritant to our allies. Thus, it is not only our neighbors but our allies as well. At the same time, I would like to emphasize that we can not give up this road just because our allies do not like everything which is happening in Hungary. We can not diverge from this road because that would mean the violation and curtailment of our freedom of action.

At the same time, I consider it very important to emphasize that we do not want to strain relations or aggravate problems with any of our allies. On the contrary, we strive for some sort of understanding and tolerance between us, starting from the idea that it is the task of each and every country to judge the best possible

methods of its own development and its own internal road. We can not help it if Hungarian development irritates others.

[Announcer] Let us take a third country, the GDR, because it is my conviction, that according to the GDR, everything happening at the border is our fault.

[Horn] I have not come across such an accusation yet—that it is our fault. The GDR citizens come here and a good proportion of them do not want to go back. What can this country, Hungary, do in this situation?

[Announcer] Nevertheless, Hungary is accused because it has dismantled the iron curtain and taken down the barbed wire fence.

[Horn] Yes, but begging your pardon, then why do GDR citizens take refuge in the Berlin mission of the FRG, or in the Prague embassy of the FRG? The iron curtain has not been lifted in either of these countries. There are people there also who wish to resettle in the FRG, thus this is not connected to Hungary eliminating the iron curtain, or it can not be connected to that unequivocally.

[Announcer] The fact that more than a hundred GDR citizens left the country from the FRG embassy in Budapest with travel documents supplied by the Red Cross, and then you and Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth made a lightning visit to Bonn, does this mean that we have chosen between the two Germanies, or could this not be evaluated like this by our allies?

[Horn] No, this does not mean that. We have also made clear our utmost interest in cooperation with the GDR. Naturally, that willingness can not contradict our humanitarian principles and the universal demands of human rights. In practice that means that we can not resort to using violent means against GDR citizens who do not want to return to their homeland. We can not do this.

[Announcer] Some people, rather cynically, would ask how much do we gain from the FRG for the appropriate handling of the refugee affair? It is obvious that this is not the question with which we are concerned.

[Horn] I fully agree with you. But what do we gain? For the time being only tension and problems of what can we do with the GDR citizens? They are here, some of them do not want to leave, we do not want to expell them from the country—we can not do this. At the same time, talks between the two German states so far have not come up with any results, at least we can not see any sort of agreement. Thus, it is only Hungary which suffers from this. We do take the humanitarian viewpoints into consideration—GDR citizens can not be expelled. But what should we do? You tell me—the leadership is in a very difficult and grave situation. From one side, it took humanitarian aspects into consideration, from the other side, the relation between the two German states. So from all this, momentarily we come out the loser.

[Announcer] Will you inform the GDR about your talks in Bonn, at least regarding the refugee affair? Is the GDR willing to talk about this question at all?

[Horn] As I have already mentioned, we are in contact with the GDR authorities and organs through continuous talks. Naturally, we inform them about our talks in the FRG. We are ready to talk with the leaders of the GDR about solving the problem. However, so far, we have not sensed any sort of willingness on the part of the GDR to change their hitherto stance.

[Announcer] What would happen if, let us say, from Czechoslovakia, from the region of Uzhgorod, or from Subcarpathia, Czechoslovak or Soviet citizens started coming with similar intentions. We could get into a huge mess.

[Horn] This danger exists. This danger exists and therefore, we have repeatedly emphasized that we do not want this country to become some sort of refugee camp. We have not come across any requests from GDR, Soviet, Czechoslovak, etc, citizens asking for asylum in the Hungarian People's Republic. Thus, there is no possibility, no basis for us to deal with these citizens as refugees.

[Announcer] Can we undertake the evaluation of a request of a citizen of Hungarian nationality from the Soviet Union? Doing so would present the danger, I think, of having to evaluate the Soviet legal system and Soviet internal political relations. However, as time goes by, it seems that it is simply not possible to avoid this question. And it seems that, unfortunately, changes in the Soviet Union are not so fast that they would solve these problems on their own.

[Horn] Well, belonging to the refugee convention obliges us to consider a request for refugee status from anybody from the Soviet Union or from any other European country. So far there has been no such requests.

[Announcer] I will formulate my question even more directly: Let us say from the direction of Uzhgorod several tens of thousands of Soviet citizens arrive—they know the place as well as those GDR citizens who have been coming here for 20 years and know everything about Hungary by heart as they also have been frequent visitors here. They decide to stay and they invade Szabolcs County. Then, let us say, from the direction of Czechoslovakia another wave arrives, and then the Romanians decide to solve their internal problems by sending a few tens of thousands of people over here. How could this small country cope with such a sea of refugees?

[Horn] I fully agree that this is a very real, very grave problem and Hungary does not want to be transformed into a refugee camp by any means. So this problem occupies us continuously. Our opinion is that such a situation in which this could evolve should be avoided by all means. But this is not only up to us, but up to our neighbors and our allies. I completely agree with the

opinion expressed in your question: That is, it is not in the interest of Hungary to become a refugee camp.

[Announcer] Nevertheless, listening to you I have the feeling all the more that Hungarian foreign policy—but I could also say Hungarian society—is getting more and more into a Catch 22 situation.

[Horn] I agree with you. We can only choose from among various bad solutions. There are hardly any good solutions here.

[Announcer] On top of this, what is happening also causes internal tensions. We have talked about tens of thousands while today there are only several hundred refugees. I have visited Bicske recently. The few hundred refugees staying there before moving on have already created serious local tensions and conflicts. Really, what is going to happen, when we have to cope with tens of thousands or, God forbid, hundreds of thousands of refugees?

[Horn] This is why I consider the stance and approach of the various political organizations and movements very important in this question. This problem can not be approached purely through a principled standpoint, we have to decide these questions from humanitarian standpoints, but reality also has to be taken into consideration. This small country with its very modest and poor possibilities can not make preparations for a refugee flood of several tens or hundreds of thousands. This we can not endure, and this would cause almost unendurable problems for Hungarian society. So this can only be approached with full responsibility, and I feel that in the past weeks and months not everybody has reflected this responsible stance.

[Announcer] As opposed to Poland, in Hungary, there are no preliminary agreements. The Hungarian party has initiated elections and in this it differs from the Polish United Workers' Party.

I ask you as the current foreign minister, what would happen if your party were to be defeated in the elections and were forced to carry out talks. For example, would you insist on your position?

[Horn] Look, I do not start from the idea that my party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] will fall. This is a serious party, today, it is one of the leading political forces in Hungary. A serious party, which strives for victory by all means at the next legislative elections. Naturally, by striving for victory I mean by clean political methods and not administrative methods.

The fact is that perhaps at some time a coalition government will be formed in Hungary and it will decide on the fate of the various ministries. This is not the personal matter of Gyula Horn but is a question for the future government.

[Announcer] Well, I will formulate my question more directly: It is rumored that at last year's party conference in May the new list of leadership was only published after having been cleared by Moscow. The question is whether or not this kind of coordination is still in operation?

[Horn] This is not true. Nobody coordinated with anybody in Moscow as to what sort of leadership should be formed at last May's party conference.

[Announcer] Finally, a personal question: Recently, in a radio program somebody qualified you, together with Imre Pozsgay and Rezso Nyers, as right-wing. How do you react to this?

[Horn] I am not right-wing and I have to say that to me any sort of labeling is unacceptable. I believe, I know, I represent and proclaim that the MSZMP has to renew itself in a fundamental way. It has to break away from communist orthodoxy which has shackled this society for years, for decades, and I think that there are quite a lot of people within the MSZMP who do not recognize the necessity of this change, or even if they recognize it, they are unable to enforce it. The October congress has to break fundamentally with this mentality, this behavior. If the MSZMP does not go towards this then it will really be pushed to the periphery of Hungarian society, and it will not be able to fulfill the role it wants to fulfill.

Incidentally, the fact of who is right-wing and who is left-wing is not a question of qualifications—The viability of someone's mentality is proven by deeds. [end recording]

Protests Against Trials Noted

LD2808201789 Budapest MTI in English 1940 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Prague, August 28 (MTI)—The Prague City court has rejected the complaint lodged by Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi against their arrest. Thus, the two Hungarian young members of the opposition have to attend the trial designated for 10:30, Tuesday morning. Also on Monday the Czech Ministry of Justice rejected the appeal of the Hungarian consul to Prague who wished to participate in the trial as a member of the defence.

Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi were arrested in Wenceslas Square in Prague on August 21 on grounds of violating public order. On the anniversary of the 1968 intervention by WT [Warsaw Treaty] member states they apologized to the Czechoslovak people on behalf of Hungarian society for Hungary's participation in the intervention.

The Democratic League of Free Trade Unions, the Hungarian Solidarity Workers Trade Union Federation and the American Federation of Teachers gave a joint statement on Monday in Budapest condemning the arrest and trial in Prague of the two Hungarian opposition members.

At its 2d parliamentary conference held in Antalya, Turkey, between August 24 and 26, the European Democratic Union condemned the arrest of the youth from

Eastern and Western Europe in Prague on August 21. They demanded the release of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi. The deputies welcome governments which condemn the intervention of 1968 and at the same time express their solidarity with the young democrats, who are on a sit-in with some on a hunger strike before the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Budapest.

Youth Leader Asks for Help

LD2908142889 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1200 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Imre Nagy, chairman of DEMISZ [Hungarian Democratic Youth League], has asked Vasil Mohorita, chairman of the Czechoslovak Union of Socialist Youth, to help in the affair of the Hungarians being held in Prague. In his letter, Imre Nagy emphasized that DEMISZ does not support Hungarian citizens who directly intervene in the internal problems of other countries. However, from the humane point of view, he considers it justified that the action of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kereni should not be judged on the basis of emotional elements. It is feared that magnification of the affiar could unnecessarily burden relations between Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Thus, the DEMISZ chairman asks the Czechoslovak Union of Socialist Youth to help in the return home as soon as possible of the two Hungarians held in Prague.

The trial of Tamas Deutsch and Gyorgy Kerenyi is being held today in Prague, but we have received no news from there so far.

CSSR's Fojtik Cited on Prague Demonstration

LD2608195689 Budapest MTI in English 1816 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 26 (MTI)—The Saturday issue of "MAGYAR HIRLAP" carries an interview with Jan Fojtik, secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and member of the party presidium. Mr Fojtik received the correspondent of the Hungarian Government daily, breaking off his holidays.

The politician accepted to briefly evaluate the Prague events on August 21. He said: "We knew that the anniversary would not be commemorated in smooth way, and the opposition is preparing—mainly in Prague—for a demonstration. The radio stations Voice of America and Radio Free Europe also discussed this... They talked about confrontation with the state power, and said they would strive to make their action international. In the last days, the representatives of the opposition changed their tactics. They called for cautiousness, for those participating in the protest to act calmly. Their aim was presumably to avert responsibility to us, in case clashes occur. What happened happened, but the smoke was greater than the fire. It is possible this would not have happened without the 'providing of internationalist assistance'. For me this proves that the opposition does not, in itself, have sufficient strength to enforce its will. But it is also a fact that the preliminary measures of our authorities took away the inclination of certain people to go out into the street."

In the following, Mr Fojtik discussed the Czechoslovak transformation programme, and in this context said, among others: "The identity of our transformation programme and Gorbachev's perestroyka lies in the fact that our principal approach and the goals are common. We fully agree with Gorbachev, and we also start out from the fact that socialism has to realize the power of the people. But the people should learn how to manage their country... With respect to the differences between the Czechoslovak and Soviet transformation, these should not be opposed to each other, as they arise from the characteristic conditions and concrete tasks."

In answer to a question, whether the forerunner of perestroyka was the Prague spring, Mr Fojtik said: "in January, 1968, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia passed—on Leninist bases—very major resolutions for the socialist renewal of society. Many elements of this genuinely do resemble perestroyka, those who do not see this are blind. The essence lies in that the ensuing development was contradictory to the resolution of the January plenum. The action programme approved in April, 1986—which is so frequently referred to by Dubcek, and which, in my view, he never even read at that time—it was enforced in practice. Forces which were hostile towards the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries began to become determining. The leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, led by Dubcek, opened the field for a power struggle, which it then was not able to contain... Alexander Dubcek is mainly responsible for the fact that the January resolutions could not be enforced."

Can Dubcek ever return to power?—was the next question. "If he does return, then we will not be here... The current leadership of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia would have difficulty cooperating with Dubcek," Mr Fojtik said.

With respect to the fact that polemics have intensified between Hungary and Czechoslovakia in several issues, Mr Fojtik said: "The debates which have no rational basis and which can only elicit emotion have to be stopped. By this I do not wish to say we should keep quiet about issues in which our views differ. But we should strive to understand each other in what happened in the past, and in what is taking place in the present, to mutually seek the roads of cooperation, as we need each other," Mr Fojtik said.

GDR Refugee Influx Said 'Increasing Daily'

LD2908101889 Hamburg DPA in German 0920 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest (DPA)—The number of GDR refugees in Hungary is increasing daily. By yesterday evening, approximately 1,800 refugees were registered in the

accomodations of the Hungarian Maltese Caritas service in Budapest. In Vienna yesterday there were a total of 319 GDR refugees in the German Embassy. This morning, 60 GDR citizens had already reported to the representation.

If this trend persists in Budapest, resulting in a total of some 2,000 GDR citizens to be cared for by the weekend, the employees will have reached the threshold, beyond which the 40 members of the organization will no longer be able to care "responsibly" for the refugees, it was said today. The fluctuation continues, the workers stressed, but fewer and fewer people are leaving the accommodations, while the number of new arrivals is increasing daily. In view of the drop in temperature from 30 degrees [celsius] at the weekend to 15 degrees at the beginning of the week, warm clothing was distributed among the GDR citizens. Playrooms and play tents were set up for the children.

The aid organization anticipates that this week will be a crucial one, because of the beginning of the school term in the GDR on 1 September. Families with school-age children must decide whether they want to return home or stay in Hungary.

In the former camp on the grounds of the parish church in Budapest's Zugliget district, there are around 600 people camping out. About 250 refugees are housed in private accommodations. Between 800 and 900 people are living in houses in a camp set up for the communist pioneer organization in Csilleberc in the Budapest Mountains.

Progress of Dam Talks With CSSR Reported

LD2508213389 Budapest MTI in English 1950 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—Headed by government commissioners in charge of the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros barrage system—Laszlo Udvari of Hungary and Vladimir Lokvenc of Czechoslovakia—an expert conference was held in Budapest recently as part of the series of talks which started in July. The Czechoslovak diplomatic note of August 18 did not figure on the agenda.

The Czechoslovak delegation to the meeting has not yet evaluated the Hungarian proposals put forth during the prime ministerial talks of July 20, but only announced that a stand on the document was being formulated. The Hungarian side asked for information about possible technical counter-measures on the part of Czechoslovakia because of the suspension of preparations for rechannelling the Danube losses, are really considering new technical solutions to be carried out in Czechoslovak territory. They are to report on these plans by the next prime ministerial meeting at the latest.

On repeated Hungarian call, the negotiating parties agreed to start technical operative talks relating to the suspension in Budapest on August 28.

Jozsef Ehn, director-general of Hungary's Viziterv, told MTI that the issue of barraging in Czechoslovak territory came up in the neighbouring country in 1981 when Hungary asked to reschedule construction work. Later, the question was dropped after the prime ministerial minutes were signed in 1983 about the four-year postponement. When deciding on the suspension of the Nagymaros project this may, the Hungarian Government repeatedly saw that the Czechoslovak experts are considering this possibility. Following the July prime ministerial conference, when it came to light that the suspension also covers the facilities near Dunakiliti and the rechannelling of the Danube-bed, efforts along this line gathered momentum.

Mr Ehn termed this solution as absurd also from economic and international legal aspects.

Janos Gorog, head of the International Law Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, pointed out that the internal law on frontier waters provides for the principle of equal and sensible utilization. As it is extremely difficult to interpret the notions "equal" and "sensible", concrete national agreements have to be observed. The aforementioned solution is hardly compatible with the spirit of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak intergovernmental agreement signed in 1976 on regulating water management questions of frontier waters. In this case, a major part of the Danube water would be channelled towards the water plant of exclusive use by Czechoslovakia, and the bed of the old Danube would only contain such a small quantity of water which would even question its frontier water character and endanger the ecological conditions.

Workers' Guard Rejects Military Take-Over Role

LD2608164289 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0500 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Excerpts] On 25 August, representatives of the Hungarian People's Army distanced themselves from the statement in MAI NAP regarding the possibility of a military takeover. Then the Workers' Guard came into the question. Lajos Borzak, Workers' Guard representative, asked for the chance to reply.

[Begin recording] [Borzak] [passage omitted] In the report, it seemed as if since the army had distanced itself from this, it leaves the Workers' Guard. On behalf of 60,000 Workers' Guard colleagues of mine, I can say that we reject this supposition. We reject it because it is a little nasty and offends our integrity too, that this or that person or organizaton, from the right or left, could frighten the people with the Workers' Guard.

[Unidentified correspondent] So it is inconceivable, in your opinion, that the Workers' Guard could be the main protagonists in a possible military takeover in Hungary?

[Borzak] It is inconceivable, for in 33 years, not only the Workers' Guard, but any armed force or organization would have had ample opportunity.

It is perhaps common knowledge, or becoming more so, that the Council of Ministers is directing the Workers' Guard.

[Correspondent] Already?

[Borzak] Yes. Naturally, it is not Sandor Petres [author of MAI NAP article], nor this supposed association who is directing it, but the Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] Why do you think these rumors keep arising again and again, that the Workers' Guard would be capable of participating in a military takeover?

[Borzak] Its physical endowments predestine the Workers Guard to be able to participate. It could not implement this on its own, it does not have that much force.

[Correspondent] What do you mean by its physical endowments? Do you mean that the Workers' Guard has that measure of weapons?

[Borzak] It has that measure of weapons so it could take part, but it is my conviction that not one single Workers' Guard in this country has such an intention. The leaders of the Workers' Guard especially do not.

[Correspondent] What is the best guarantee for this?

[Borzak] Well, as I mentioned before, the Council of Ministers, the chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers if you like, personally would not, I think, give a command to the Workers' Guard to participate in this or that putsch. As far as I know the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, that is as far as the citizens knows him, I think they do not suppose him to be a man with putschist [word indistinct] intentions. [end recording]

Trilateral Political Discussions Continue

LD2508172189 Budapest MTI in English
1447 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 25 (MTI)—The medium-level political discussions continued in the parliament building on Friday. The HSWP [Hungarian Socialist Workers Party] delegation was headed by Imre Pozsgay, the opposition roundtable by Imre Boros, and the third side by Imre Nagy.

At the beginning of the discussions, Ms Magda Kovacs, presiding, announced that representatives of the press could remain throughout the talks.

She went on to give an assessment of Thursday's events, reporting that the agenda of the previous day's discussions had included the amendment to the penal code and the legal guarantees for excluding the possibility of the use of force as a solution. The sides expressed support for any solution that strengthens the safety of citizens. All present agreed that any public offence committed by soldiers should be handled in court. While discussing the legal guarantees of the use of force, participants were in agreement that no reprisals should be taken against employees for their political convictions.

Thursday's discussions focussed on the openness of the trilateral talks. Agreement was reached that from now on, the press could be present at the discussions. Hungarian television will also be permitted to give regular updates on the progress of the talks.

Friday's session continued with the debate over the electoral bill.

Six-Way Worldwide Radio Linkup Planned 31 Aug

LD2808151889 Budapest MTI in English
1332 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Budapest, August 28 (MTI)—For the first time ever, Hungary's Radio Kossuth will be connected live with five other world radio stations. Live link-ups with the Hungarian desk of the Voice of America in Washington and New York, the Hungarian section of the BBC World Service in London, the Berne Centre of the Swiss Broadcasting Corporation, and a recording from Radio Moscow, will all be featured.

During the two-hour programme, due to go out on August 31, and exchange of views will be broadcast from the studios. Renowned politicians, politologists, historians of Hungarian descent and broadcasters will be invited to speak about the causes leading to the Second World War, the precedents of the Yalta Agreement, its interpretation and consequences. Other topics will include the breaking up of Europe, and periods of crisis like 1953, 1956, 1968 and 1980.

Mazowiecki Hopes To Form Government by 10 Sep

LD2808222189 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki is continuing talks on the formation of a government. Today he met with the Presidium of the Citizens Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP] headed by Bronislaw Geremek, its chairman. Andrzej Stelmachowski, the Senate speaker, and Olga Krzyzanowska, the deputy Sejm speaker, also took part in the meeting. Tadeusz Mazowiecki also today met Jerzy Jozwiak, chairman of the Democratic Party [SD] Central Committee, Jan Janowski, chairman of the SD parliamentary floor group, Roman Malinowski, chairman of the Supreme Committee of the United Peasant Party [ZSL], and Aleksandur Bentkowski, chairman of the ZSL Parliamentary Floor Group.

Directly after the meeting ended, OKP Chairman Prof Bronislaw Geremek said that the OKP Presidium spoke with the premier about the principles of cooperation between parliament and the government. We agreed certain principles of government programs, with which various circles of public opinion are going to be able to participate. We discussed the composition of the government, but the main problem was the principles of those government programs, which will both in the short and the long term meet public expectations. The premier also presented certain matters which make the first initial deadline for creating the government—31 August—impossible to meet. We think that in the first 10 days of September a government will be formulated and he will present it to the Sejm.

Mazowiecki Talks to PZPR Deputies Club

AU2808134889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 pp 1, 2

[Text] PAP—On Thursday morning, Tadeusz Mazowiecki met with the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Deputies Club. Welcoming the guest, Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the club, stressed that one can consider this meeting a historic one. For the first time in the history of People's Poland, PZPR representatives are meeting with a distinguished representative of the opposition who has been appointed premier.

T. Mazowiecki recalled that the government he is due to form will emerge on "Solidarity's" initiative in accordance with the statement conveyed to the president by Lech Walesa and the chairmen of the United Peasant Party and Democratic Party. Just like the statement said, it is also my intention that this be a government open to all forces represented in parliament. Sometimes, forces like the PZPR or "Solidarity" may be in power, and sometimes they may be in opposition. Right now, however, we can only find a way out of this political situation together. It would be bad if your party were to feel it shares no responsibility for emerging from the crisis.

I would not like to be a figurehead, said T. Mazowiecki. That means I will not agree to the kind of government in which the milieu I represent consists of nothing but the premier and a few ministers in charge of ministries of lesser importance. Concrete talks are still ahead of us. I think we can proceed to these talks with the thought that we will only find a way out if we guide ourselves by Poland's supreme interests. I realize that a feeling of uncertainty may arise inside various organizational bodies. I am not going to organize a "witch-hunt." The point is that there should be only one principle to be applied when appointing people to leadership posts—competence. I will heed that principle, and insist on loyalty to the state and government.

T. Mazowiecki answered numerous questions from members of the club:

[Question] What criterion will be applied when appointing members of the Council of Ministers?

[Mazowiecki] So far, my talks have been general, and I have not indulged in any bargaining. This government is not going to be a government of experts in the classical sense of the word. However, its members will have to be competent in a given sphere.

[Question] What structure for ministries do you foresee?

[Mazowiecki] I have looked at the composition of ministries in Poland and reached the conclusion that there is no logic to it. However, these are matters which are laid down by the law, and the law will have to be changed. I consider a further reorganization of ministries essential, which will include reorganization in the field and the expansion of local self-government.

[Question] As a "Solidarity" member, how do you view the question of social sacrifices during the emergence from the crisis?

[Mazowiecki] The economic situation indeed requires sacrifices. I would like it to be clear that this government has received a certain inheritance for which it is not responsible. However, it will be responsible for the steps it takes to emerge from this situation. Poland needs an anticrisis pact between various sociopolitical forces.

[Question] What will the new government's economic program be?

[Mazowiecki] A major task is to curb inflation at the very least. That must be the government's chief concern. In addition, we will soon be faced with the problem connected with the IMF meeting. One of the earliest tasks will also be to demonopolize procurement, in order to rectify all the wrongs of the last reform. Generally, the purpose is to restore to Poland normal and efficient economic mechanisms, the kind that have been tried and tested in Europe.

[Question] What will be the chief paths of government foreign policy vis-a-vis the socialist countries?

[Mazowiecki] In my interview for IZVESTIYA, I said that just as we view the changes in the USSR with

understanding and interest and wish them success, we would like others to view our changes in the same way. Thanks to this, the alliance and friendship between our peoples can gain a broad social basis. I realize that what is happening in Poland is a revolution in relations with the socialist countries. This is being viewed with warm feelings in the USSR, but with certain reservations in other countries. The government's task will be to overcome such attitudes.

Mazowiecki Receives Foreign Officials

LD2508200589

[Editorial Report] Warsaw PAP in English at 1503 GMT on 25 August, in a Warsaw-datelined report notes: "Polish Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received Ambassador of the Kingdom of Belgium to Poland Thierry de Gruben who conveyed cordial wishes from Belgian Premier Wilfried Martens together with an invitation to pay a visit to Belgium at a convenient date."

Warsaw PAP in English at 1648 GMT reports: "Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received a delegation of the German Conference of Bishops led by Cardinal Franz Hengsbach, Bishop of Essen, Bishop Jozef Homeyer of Hildesheim and Father Jerzy Likierski, Warsaw's Auxiliary Bishop Wladyslaw Miziolek took part in the meeting."

Warsaw PAP in English at 1600 GMT reports: "Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki received visiting FRG Minister of Labor and Social Affairs, CDU [Christian Democratic Union] Vice-Chairman and CDU Chairman in North Rhine-Westphalia Dr Norbert Bluem. Minister Bluem conveyed congratulations to the Polish Premier from Chancellor Kohl." The report continues: "Speaking about chances of Premier Mazowiecki's government overcoming Poland's economic difficulties, Bluem said that they depended on Poles themselves and on possible foreign support and assistance. We wholeheartedly wish you a peaceful resolution of Polish problems in the interest of Poland and Europe, he said."

Warsaw PAP in English at 1840 GMT reports: "Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki met Chairman of the Citizen's Parliamentary Floor Group Bronislaw Geremek."

Warsaw Television Service in Polish at 1515 GMT on 25 August carries a brief report on the office now occupied by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki, and his starting work at 0815. The report notes that among others, the first guests received by Premier Mazowiecki include "Deputy Premier Ireneusz Sekula" and "the ambassador of the USSR."

Officials Congratulate Mazowiecki on Premiership

Soviet KGB Head's Greetings

LD2908094889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Army General Vladimir Aleksandrovich Kryuchkov, chairman of the Committee for State Security of the Soviet Union, has arrived in Warsaw on a brief working visit at the invitation of General Czeslaw Kiszczak, acting minister of internal affairs. Vladimir Kryuchkov, chairman of the USSR Committee for State Security, was received by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki at the office of the Council of Ministers. General Czeslaw Kiszczak took part in the meeting.

[Begin recording] [Mazowiecki] I am very pleased to see you, general, and to have an opportunity to talk for the first time with a member of the Soviet leadership.

[Kryuchkov, in Russian, fading into Polish translation] I am also very pleased on this occasion, and pleased that I am also the first representative from Moscow to have the opportunity to convey very hearty congratulations on the occasion of your appointment to the high post of premier of the Polish People's Republic. I would like to wish you success in your work [words indistinct] it was noted in Moscow that our leadership has sent very warm greetings to you, Mr Premier. [end recording]

Next, Vladimir Kryuchkov paid a visit to President Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Rakowski Greetings Message

AU2908092189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 p 1

[Congratulatory message from PZPR First Secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski to Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Please accept my congratulations on your election to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

I am aware of the enormity of the problems facing your cabinet. On behalf of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] Central Committee and on my own behalf, I warmly wish you success in the performance of your honorable and responsible mission.

Your declared intention of further reforms to the Polish economic and political system is, in many points, convergent with the PZPR's programmatic goals and actions undertaken by it in recent years. This creates a favorable prerequisite for our cooperation for the sake of Poland and the Poles.

The emergent government of broad coalition, with the participation of all parliamentary forces, can count on the PZPR's support for everything that is meant to lead the country out of the crisis. I wish to affirm that we do not intend to shun joint responsibility, and that, in the spirit of partnership, we will take active part in the work of the new government within the framework of the possibilities created for us.

Please accept my sincere wishes for the resilience and determination that are so necessary, as well as for creative strength, health, and personal success.

Hungary's Nemeth Sends Message

AU2908091989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 p 2

[Congratulatory message from Hungarian Premier Miklos Nemeth to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Dear Sir! On behalf of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic and on my own behalf, I send you greetings and congratulations on your appointment to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

I am convinced that the brotherhood between our peoples and comprehensive cooperation between our countries will also develop in the future.

Please accept my wishes for success in the highly responsible work for Poland and the Polish people, as well as strength and good health.

Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic.

CSSR's Adamec Greets Mazowiecki

AU2908090989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26-27 Aug 89 p 2

[Congratulatory message from CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Dear Mr Premier! On behalf of the CSSR Government and on my own behalf, I send you congratulations on your appointment to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

I am convinced that the comprehensive cooperation between the CSSR and Polish People's Republic will continue to develop for the sake of enhancing the friendship between the peoples of our countries, and that it will help consolidate peace and security in the world.

I wish you, esteemed Mr Chairman of the Council of Ministers, much health and success in your work.

Ladislav Adamec, chairman of the CSSR Government.

GDR's Stoph Sends Message

AU2908091589 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 p 2

[Congratulatory message from GDR Premier Willi Stoph to Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment]

[Text] Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

Greatly Esteemed Mr Mazowiecki! I send you my congratulations on your appointment to the post of chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic.

I hope that the traditional close friendship, good-neighborly relations, and comprehensive cooperation between the GDR and Polish People's Republic will continue to develop.

Please accept my best wishes for fruitful activity for the sake of People's Poland, as well as wishes for health and success Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

PAP Rounds Up Leaders' Messages

LD2508224189 Warsaw PAP in English 2154 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth wrote in a congratulatory cable to Tadeusz Mazowiecki that he was convinced that also in the future the brotherhood of the two nations would develop and so would comprehensive cooperation of the two countries.

FRG's Chancellor Helmut Kohl wrote in part: You are taking up the office in a historic moment. The fact arouses great hopes for a successful development of your country and for peace transformations in Europe. The federal government will spare no effort in trying to support you on the road you have chosen.

I am deeply convinced that our two countries should meet halfway to pave the way to the lasting reconciliation between our nations, especially this year—the year which reminds us of the painful past and at the same time opens up new promising prospects.

Czechoslovak Premier Ladislav Adamec wrote that he was convinced that comprehensive cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Poland would continue to develop in the interest of the deepening of friendship between the nations of the two countries and would favour the strengthening of peace and security in the world.

Roland Dumas, France's foreign minister, said in his cable that he was ready to go to Warsaw to sign, as president of the EC Council of Ministers, an agreement on trade and cooperation that had been initialled by Poland and EC. Presently, he wrote, I would like to assure

you that France understands Poland and gives her support in this decisive moment in the history of your country.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former national security adviser to President Carter sent his "warmest congratulations on the occasion of appointing by the Sejm an authentic prime minister of Poland" and wrote that that date would be important in the history of Poland and that it constituted a significant triumph in the 50-year struggle of the nation for independence. He also wished Premier Mazowiecki success in national renewal and social reconciliation.

Belgium's Prime Minister Wilfried Martens said in his cable to Tadeusz Mazowiecki that the latter's election constituted a historic event not only for Poland but also for Belgium, Europe and democracy in the world.

U.S. President George Bush sent today the following cable: Please accept my warmest congratulations on your election as prime minister of Poland.

At this historic moment, you assume enormous responsibilities, but also have enormous opportunities to build a new Poland. I look to Poland's future with hope and confidence as you take steps to form a government that will have the support and trust of the Polish people.

The road ahead will not be an easy one, but Poland will not be alone. I want you to know that you can count on our continued strong support as Poland meets the challenges before it.

Congratulatory cables to Tadeusz Mazowiecki were also sent by Austria's Chancellor Franz Vranitzky, Malta's Prime Minister Edward Fenech Adami, Chairman of the Christian-Democratic Party of Chile Andres Zaldivar Larrain, President of the EC Commission Jacques Delors, Minister for the Presidency and Minister for Justice in Portugal Joaquin Fernando Nogueira, First Secretary of the French Socialist Party Pierre Mauroy, former President of France Valery Giscard d'Estaing and Paris Mayor Jacques Chirac and head of FRG's Social-Democratic Party Hans-Jochen Vogel.

Further Greetings Received

LD2608213489 Warsaw PAP in English 2026 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 26—Poland's new Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki continues to receive congratulatory telegrammes from all over the world in the wake of his election to the post.

"France is following with sympathy and hope the efforts you undertake with support from all political forces of your country. In this meaningful moment of Poland's history you can be sure of France's support," says a message from President Francois Mitterrand.

FRG Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher says for his part that FRG people hope Mazowiecki will accomplish further success on the road of reforms. "It is time our countries united efforts in their relations with a view to giving them a new quality and coming closer to the goal of reconciliation," he says.

A message has also come from Premier of North Rhine-Westphalia Johannes Rau who congratulates Mazowiecki upon election and says he was looking forward to his prospective meeting with the Polish prime minister next week during a visit to Poland in connection with WW2 outbreak anniversary observances.

Mazowiecki's Mongolian counterpart Dumaagiyn Sodnom expresses the conviction in his message that relations between Poland and Mongolia will continue to develop and consolidate, wishing Mazowiecki success "in the name of Poland's development and consolidation of universal peace."

"May the hopes be fulfilled which are pinned on you with a view to a democratic and free Poland for all citizens of your country," says a message from Holger Boerner, president of the FRG Friedrich Ebert Foundation.

Spanish Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez Marquez wished his Polish counterpart to secure success of reforms necessary to accomplish "serious political, economic and social development conforming to the will of the Polish nation."

A message of congratulations has also come today from Michele Gendreau-Massaloux, chancellor of Paris universities.

Political Figures on Mazowiecki's Appointment

AU2808153389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 89 p 4

[PAP report: "The Most Important Thing Is Consistency"]

[Excerpts] Following the Sejm's election of Tadeusz Mazowiecki as chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, POLISH PRESS AGENCY reporters asked representatives of various political milieus about the hopes and expectations with which they had received this news.

Marek Krol, PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Central Committee secretary: As an inhabitant of Greater Poland, I observe with a feeling of concern the anarchism in state and social structures. I hope Tadeusz Mazowiecki's government will reverse these dangerous trends which are threatening the entire state and all of us. I also believe that there will at least be a transitional national accord on certain basic issues which constitute the nation's existence. [passage omitted]

Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Citizens Parliamentary Club: I believe this is a historic event; not just because the rules about choosing a head of government have been changed, but also because the political principles of forming authorities have changed. I realize that the "Solidarity" candidate is starting at a particularly difficult time, difficult because of the accumulated negative effects of economic policy so far. The chances for

political change in Poland are huge, but the chances for economic change, which will make life materially bearable, are considerably more restricted.

What do I expect from the new government? I expect it to be able to build a long-term economic policy upon the foundation of minimal hope which only this government could have achieved and did achieve. I mean, there is hope already, but it is necessary to build profound economic change on top of this hope. This government may implement such a change, and I think it should do so energetically, realizing that although the process involves certain costs, the most important thing is consistency.

Schemings involving ministerial portfolios are without meaning to the future of this government and its domestic policy. The most important thing is that the new program be supported by all the pro-reformist forces that currently appear in Polish public life.

Lech Walesa: I am pleased that we have such a chance, even though it is very small and not understood, especially abroad. It will not be easy. But we will certainly do something for this country. This new premier, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, has the greatest chance of doing more than anyone else in his place, a chance that stems from experience and struggle. I firmly believe and hope that, even though we are not prepared, we will do something more, because we have greater possibilities from the point of view of social expectations and guarantees.

Alfred Miodowicz, chairman of the National Trade Union Confederation: The Sejm debate connected with the election of the new premier stressed the historic significance of today's decision for Poland's public life. All this is important. It is an expression of social expectations expressed in, among other places, the latest Sejm elections. Such a scenario could have been foreseen, and we expected it. Nevertheless, as chief of a trade union body, I have to view each premier's declaration and program from the angle of their conformity to the working people's interests. I congratulate Mr Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment to this responsible position, which is difficult in today's times. However, I must admit I failed to find in his first Sejm speech a reply to the questions that bother us trade unionists.

Therefore, I await with impatience a more concrete expose of the new government's paths of socioeconomic action. I hope Mr Mazowiecki's government will not only concentrate on creating the right conditions for the development of enterprise, but will also devote at least the same amount of attention to guaranteeing dignified living and working conditions for the many millions of ordinary workers. I have in mind here workers in state industry, workers in the budget sphere and their families, and pensioners,.

I congratulate Mr Mazowiecki on his personal courage, and wish him steadfastness and success. I can assure the premier that all government initiatives aimed in the direction I have mentioned can count on the support of the trade unions. [passage omitted]

Dailies Comment on Mazowiecki Election

LD2508141189 Warsaw PAP in English 1238 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—Today's dailies comment on the election of Tadeusz Mazowiecki to the post of premier:

GAZETA WYBORCZA

Said Adam Michnik in his article headlined "My Wishes for Our Prime Minister": "As a result of the decision by the Sejm, Tadeusz Mazowiecki has begun to form a government. This signifies an end of a certain process and the beginning of a new one. I have been personally engaged in this process. So I am sorry for quoting myself. Several weeks ago the GAZETA WYBORCZA (July 2, 1989) published my article headlined "Your President—Your Premier". I postulated that an alignment of forces be worked out in which a government formed by a candidate from "Solidarnosc" would exist alongside a president from the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party]. Such a president will guarantee continuity of power, international and military agreements, alliances. Such a government will enjoy a mandate of the vast majority of Poles and guarantee a consistent change of the economic and political system, I wrote at that time.

"This thesis stirred up numerous critical comments.

"I have been accused of putting at risk the difficult and shaky stability of the situation—without having a program of economic activitiles—a situation created by the round table agreement in favour of concepts which could turn upside-down all that has been achieved so far. I was also accused of too hastily 'demanding participation in power' and inability to distinguish between social imagination and 'political stampede' which my article was supposed to have illustrated. (Such was the case several weeks ago). (...) A month later Tadeusz Mazowiecki accepted the post of prime minister. "This government does not have much time. Quick and spectacular effects are needed. Activities are called for which it would be sufficiently clear for people to understand why they are to be energetic and patient. These activities need a shield in the form of social peace which can be achieved by signing an anti-crisis pact with the trade unions.

"Poland awaits a clear-cut program and timetable of free market changes in the economy and the equal-rights treatment of all forms of ownership accompanying them. Poland awaits an analogous program and timetable of democratic restructuring of the state. At issue are such matters as: early elections to local self-governments, reform of the judicial system, reform of the mass media."

TRYBUNA LUDU

"The new premier today personifies hopes for a strong, grand coalition government.

"Negotiations on the government do not stand for a distribution of posts. This above all is a beginning of a new era, which could bring a tremendous relief as well as

political (crises) for the country. Let us hope the Poles stand tall enough to put this variant into practice, a variant called national agreement. Let us hope the hot Polish summer concludes with this."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY

"Will the cabinet being set up by Premier Mazowiecki have greater chances of coming to grips with Polish problems than the previous ones? Undoubtedly it will have numerous trumps. Among them are unclean political balance sheets and lack of bias with the past and subsequently greater possibilities of winning social approval for their undertakings as well as the support of the young and dynamic socio-political movement which 'Solidarnosc' and the church, as well as the UPP [United Peasants Party] and SD [Democratic Party] re-defining their identity, truly are. Of course, the power of the government is also a derivative of its relations with other parts of the political alignment.

"The government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki can count on a great potential of social trust. It is accompanied by great expectations. Everything must be done to allow it to meet these expectations."

Foreign Reaction to Mazowiecki Appointment

LD2508214789 Warsaw PAP in English 2058 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—The Soviet Union welcomed with satisfaction Poland's Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki's stand on the Polish-Soviet relations and on Poland's participation in the Warsaw Treaty and CMEA formulated in his Sejm address on Thursday, spokesman for the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs Yuriy Gremitskikh told a press conference today.

Wise and constructive approach of the Polish prime minister to those problems of lasting importance for the nations of both countries is convergent with our intentions expressed in the congratulatory cable conveyed by the USSR Council of Ministers to Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his appointment to the post of Poland's premier, Gremitskikh said.

TASS political commentator Aleksandr Kondrashov wrote on the situation in Poland (excerpts):

"In result of recent stormy weeks Poland is approaching now what the PUWP [Polish United Workers Party] appealed for directly after the parliamentary elections, namely a government of a grand coalition in which the PUWP representatives will take seats in accordance with the party's position in the Polish society.

"Of course, all are concerned about further developments in Poland. But debating on further ups and downs of the inner political life in the country is a useless task. However, taking into account the imperative of overcoming crisis in the shortest time possible that the country faces, a new government can achieve this only through constructive, creative approach and not through negation and confrontation.

"A different approach, for instance appeals to 'dismiss a million Communists from work' voiced in some political circles, may lead only to aggravation of confrontation and it would be simply impossible to overcome crisis in such a situation," Kondrashov stated.

Asked by PAP Prague correspondent Leszek Mazan to comment on Tadeusz Mazowiecki's election to premier, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Federal Government Miroslav Pavel said in part:

"We follow with attention political and economic developments in Poland. It is understandable as we have always been, still are and will remain close neighbours in that part of Europe. Therefore it is not without reason that in a congratulatory cable sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki Czechoslovakia's Premier Ladislav Adamec expressed his conviction that cooperation between our countries will be further developed. Here in Czechoslovakia we cannot think of any other way of co-existence."

The whole Hungarian press reports extensively on the Sejm's sitting which appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki to prime minister. Stressing that the decision is of historic significance, all papers underline Mazowiecki's words that his government will strive for maintaining good relations with the USSR and will respect obligations stemming from Poland's membership in the Warsaw Treaty.

In a congratulatory cable sent to Tadeusz Mazowiecki today, chairman of the EC Executive Commission Jacques Delors assured Poland's premier that he can expect that the commission will exert pressure with a view to coordinating assistance for Poland.

All Madrid-based papers carried today big photographs of the new Polish premier on their front pages. Such titles as "Poland ratifies first in non-communist premier in the east" ("YA"), "Polish Communists vote for Mazowiecki ("ABC"), "Mazowiecki promises new Poland with market economy and pluralism", "Moscow supports Polish premier" ("EL INDEPENDIENTE") reflect the tone of Madrid mass media's approach to the event.

"We congratulate Tadeusz Mazowiecki on his taking office of Poland's premier. I think that it was a very good move since thanks to achieving agreement on prime minister at last, the Polish nation avoided political void," acting spokesman for the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, vice-director for information Shiao Takenaka told PAP Tokyo correspondent Andrzej Zielinski.

"The Polish political situation was characterized by uncertainty, the spokesman added. Finally, however, all sides concerned agreed on Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Thus you have made a step on the road towards reforming your society and towards social stability. I think it is a very good move."

In its editorial the "WASHINGTON POST" daily appealed to the American Government to considerably increase financial assistance for Poland.

The paper wrote that the west cannot permit a collapse of the "Solidarnosc" government, the initiative belongs first of all to Western Europe but the United States bears responsibility that it cannot give up.

Soviet Deputy Welcomes Solidarity Government

AU2508124489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 7

[Statement by Sergey Stankevich, member-coordinator of the inter-regional group of USSR peoples deputies, for GAZETA WYBORCZA: "More Thought and Less Emotion"]

[Text] Sergey Stankevich, member-coordinator of the inter-regional group of USSR peoples deputies talked to GAZETA WYBORCZA. The group formally came into existence on 29-30 July 1989 and currently has 400 members. This is frankly my own opinion, but I am sure that most of the member deputies from the inter-regional group would agree with me. We believe that the tactics of Lech Walesa were successful thanks to his precise feel for the political situation. It is very important that this political sense does not desert the "Solidarity" leadership in the future. I refer to the formula that Michnik used (we discussed this with him): "Your president—our premier." It aptly summed up the situation. We will be glad when a "Solidarity"-formed government appears in Poland. We hope that the course of this government will be more purposeful and that in the very near future it will be able to improve the situation of Polish society. This has also international implications which are being widely discussed. International correspondents in Moscow are asking what the attitude of the Soviet Union will be, and what is the likelihood of Soviet interference in the course of events in Poland. As regards us, we must categorically state that the practice of illegal interference in the internal affairs of East European neighbor states should be buried once and for all. The 1968 Czechoslovak and the 1956 Hungarian experiences have to remain as painful episodes of our history, and in no case must they ever be repeated. I believe that there are sufficient democratic forces in the Soviet parliament to guarantee non-intervention in Polish affairs, no matter what the circumstances may be. Linked to this is Lech Walesa's latest pronouncement, namely, that he is ready to take into account the Soviet Union's interests as a state, and not the interests of specific Soviet bureaucratic circles. This gives grounds for hope and optimism. The joint action and cooperation of reformist groups can further accelerate the processes of democratization in both our countries. We proclaim our support for a government that Tadeusz Mazowiecki is trying to form, and we believe that "Solidarity" is presently on the right track. Nevertheless, I believe that in the current situation the following maxim is appropriate: "More thought, and less emotion."

Walesa Says GDR, CSSR, Romania To Follow

LD2808123689 Hamburg DPA in German 1155 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—The Polish workers' leader Lech Walesa believes that the GDR, the CSSR, and Romania will one day follow the Polish or Hungarian path. "It's true they will go more slowly but they will [go]," Walesa said in an interview with the Berlin city magazine "TIP". The acceleration there would be different. "But I fear that one day they could even overtake us."

Walesa Comments on Viability of New Government

LD2708095989 Kuwait KUNA in English 0821 GMT 27 Aug 89

[Text] Kuwait, Aug 27 (KUNA)—Failure of Solidarity in running the affairs of Poland will not mean the end of the world or of Poland but will allow another parties a better chance, Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa told a Kuwaiti daily published here Sunday.

Walesa told AL-WATAN that a new government will simply take over if the one currently being formed by Solidarity, the independent labor syndicate in Poland, failed in its mission.

The Solidarity leader who has refused to take over as premier said that the Solidarity-run government will have to adopt a number of unpopular and firm economic measures to help prop up the country's ailing economy. He said "we could have just sat aside and watched the disaster befalling our country but that would not be an honorable stand from our side."

Walesa affirmed "our goal is to find solutions to confront failure of the communist economic program". He, however, conceded that accepting premiership in Poland entailed serious dangers.

Asked whether Solidarity feared a negative Moscow reaction even though Poland accepted remaining within the Warsaw Pact, Walesa said that his organization does not think of abandoning the Warsaw Pact and emphasized "we will live up to all our commitments."

The Solidarity leader, who managed after 20 years of struggle against communist rule of his country to oust the Communists from the premiership, said he does not want to be president of Poland.

Asked about a meeting with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, Walesa said he did not believe that such a meeting would take place because Gorbachev (?had) many problems to deal with and did not have time for "secondary discussions."

Michnik Comments on New Premier, Expectations

AU2808163589 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 25-27 Aug 89 p 3

[Commentary by Adam Michnik: "What I Wish Our New Premier"]

[Text] Following the decision made by the Sejm, Tadeusz Mazowiecki has begun to form a government. This marks the end of one process and the beginning of a new one. I was personally involved in this process, so I apologize for quoting myself. A few weeks ago, I had an article published in GAZETA WYBORCZA (2 July 1989) entitled "Your President, Our Premier." I suggested that a governmental arrangement be worked out in which a president who belongs to the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] would exist alongside a candidate from "Solidarity." I wrote: "Such a president would guarantee continuity with respect to government, international treaties, and military alliances. Such a government would have a mandate from the great majority of Poles and would guarantee consistent change in the economic and political system."

The thesis prompted a lot of critical comment. An author who took issue with my suggestion in the columns of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC charged that my article was a "deliberate political fait accompli," and that such a government or "'Soldarity' ministers" would be unable "to effectively direct an apparatus that was alien to them," and that the "National Trade Union Confederation could at any time undermine the actions of such a government."

It was charged that, in the absence of a program of economic action, I was putting at risk "the difficult and uncertain stabilization of the situation that was created by the roundtable contract in favor of concepts that could upset everything that had been achieved." I was also accused of excessive haste in "calling for participation in government," as well as the inability to differentiate between social imagination and a "political stampede," of which my article was meant to be an illustration (that was the situation a few weeks ago). I admit that so far none of my opponents have conceded that they made a mistake as quickly and in as gentlemanly a manner as the author of those critical observations, because a month later Tadeusz Mazowiecki accepted the post of premier.

His first statements were of a general kind and were reassuring to partners from the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party. However, I am sure that the premier not only has an accurate idea of social realities, but also a program for leading the Polish economy out of the crisis, even if it is only the basic framework of such a program. If he did not, he would certainly not seek to address such difficult tasks. He undoubtedly also possesses his own vision of the political reform of the state. We will no doubt learn about all of these things from his Sejm speech.

However, it is not only a question of what program, but also of how the program will be realized. What I am thinking of is the form that work will take. This government and this premier have a great amount of capital at their disposal in the form of confidence on the part of those millions of people who voted for "Soldarity" candidates on 4 June. He has the support of Lech Walesa, as Walesa has been personally involved in coalition talks with Mr Malinowski and Mr Jozwiak. Walesa has assumed joint responsibility for the composition and policies of this government.

This government does not have much time. Rapid and spectacular results are needed. What are needed are actions that are sufficiently clear so that people understand why they have to be active and patient. These actions need a protective shield in the form of social calm that could be achieved by signing an anti-crisis pact with the trade unions.

It is no secret among Tadeusz Mazowiecki's friends that one literary character of whom he thinks highly is Kutuzov in Lev Tolstoy's "War and Peace." Kutuzov waited. He knew how to wait long and patiently. I think that Tadeusz Mazowiecki's political biography—he is undoubtedly an outstanding politician—has taught him the art of waiting. This is a great skill and a political virtue. It guards against decisions that have not been properly thought through, decisions that are made rashly and hurriedly. It allows one to make forecasts and precludes political adventurism. Combined with an aptitude for pluralism—another of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's virtues—we can imagine that the future government's policy course will be faithful to pluralism and prudence.

This is precisely the position that the present premier represented when he was in "Soldarity's" governing bodies.

However, are these qualities enough for the premier of a government operating under the present conditions? I think that the premier of this government must possess dynamism and a knack for taking risks. He must have enough courage to make difficult decisions quickly.

Tadeusz Mazowiecki said that he might be a good or a bad premier, but he will not be a puppet premier. What I also wish him is that he will be a premier who makes clear and concrete statements and bold, farsighted decisions.

Poland is waiting for a clear-cut program and schedule for market-oriented changes in the economy and for the equal status of all forms of ownership that goes along with this. Poland is waiting for a similar program and schedule for the democratic reorganization of the state. This applies, for example, to the speeding up of regional self-management body elections, the reform of the judicial system, and the reform of the mass media.

The premier is a well-known journalist and social activist connected with the church, and was editor-in-chief of WIEZ [LINK] for many years, as well as one of the leaders of the ZNAK movement. This bodes well for Polish democracy. The premier is a member of

"Soldarity." The National Executive Commission and all the union structures, the Citizens' Parliamentary Club, and all people of goodwill are undoubtedly ready to help him. We, GAZETA WYBORCZA, should also help him. Nevertheless, we will not help him by writing fawning articles such as those that appeared in last Monday's [21 August] edition. Articles of that kind only make the premier and government appear foolish. We will only help him by writing the truth, and that, along with friendship, is what we sincerely promise him.

Solidarity Not To Vie for Foreign Minister

LD2808175289 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] On the subject of forming a government, we have been informed by a representative of the GAZETA WYBORCZA that at this morning's session of the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group Presidium, it was agreed that Solidarity would not be competing for the Foreign Ministerial portfolio.

Democratic Party Leadership Discusses Situation

LD2508193989 Warsaw PAP in English 1839 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 25—The Presidium of the Democratic Party (DP) CC [Central Committee] met chairmen and secretaries of the DP voivodship organizations today.

The conference, chaired by Chairman of the DP CC Jerzy Jozwiak, focused on a comprehensive analysis of Poland's social, political and economic situation and the DP's participation in solving problems facing new government coalition.

Bentkowski Discusses Break With Communism

PM2308150189 Paris LE FIGARO in French 22 Aug 89 p 3

[Undated interview with Aleksander Bentkowski, president of the Polish Peasant Party parliamentary group, by Jean-Jacques Mevel in Warsaw: "'Communist System is Broken,' Aleksander Bentkowski, President of the Peasant Party, Tells LE FIGARO that General Kiszczak Will Be New Government's Defense Minister"]

[Text] Aleksander Bentkowski is perhaps the politician whom the Polish Communists most resent today. It is this 40-year-old man who, leading most of the 76 Peasant Party (ZSL) deputies, tipped the Sejm and the Polish Government in the direction of Solidarity. And for the first time put a communist party in the minority east of the iron curtain.

He is also the first to have publicly aired the idea of an alliance between his party and Solidarity. After over 40 years of loyalty between the ZSL and the Polish United Workers Party (PZPR, the Communist Party). Even before Lech Walesa could make it the instrument for taking power.

He receives us in the working room of his group in the Sejm, the "Peasant Club," and answers all questions directly, except perhaps the question about the decision to break with the communist party. It is true that Aleksander Bentkowski has not succeeded immediately in convincing his party's leaders.

The most surprising thing is perhaps the trust he manifests in General Jaruzelski, the Polish head of state but also the man who instituted martial law in December 1981. General Kiszczak, the last and short-lived prime minister supported by the Communists, enjoys the same capital of favor.

[LE FIGARO] Why did you break with the Communist Party after 40 years of experience?

[Aleksander Bentkowski] Our deputies were looking for an opportunity to prove that the ZSL is an autonomous party with credibility for its voters. At the same time the Communist Party seemed to be ossified. It has been saying the same thing despite the June elections and Solidarity's success. We had to face facts, it was no longer possible to form a government with the PZPR. Our alliance with Solidarity could indeed have been formed earlier.

[LE FIGARO] Did the Communist Party try to keep you?

[Bentkowski] The PZPR has so many internal problems.... To the end its leaders did not take seriously a reversal of alliances in the Sejm. Moreover, it had nothing to offer us.

A Silent Revolution

[LE FIGARO] A noncommunist government in Poland nonetheless goes beyond the framework of the Sejm!

[Bentkowski] It is a silent revolution. The ZSL has taken its most important decision in 40 years. The communist system is quite simply broken.

[LE FIGARO] It is more or less certain that in Mazowiecki's cabinet Defense and Internal Affairs will go to communist ministers. Is it possible to govern without controlling the army or the militia?

[Bentkowski] I hope that the people in the police and the army are also Polish. That is patriots who do their job conscientiously.

[LE FIGARO] But the Communists are still in place....

[Bentkowski] As long as General Jaruzelski is president we need not worry. No one will resort to the army. The defense ministry will probably be assigned to General Kiszczak. They won't make the same mistake twice. Moreover, since Solidarity and the ZSL are taking responsibility for a dilapidated economy, the Communist Party should be showing gratitude....

[LE FIGARO] Could you govern against the regime's privileged people, the nomenklatura?

[Bentkowski] The nomenklatura is an evil which has hindered Poland's development. It is making reforms more difficult for the moment. Neither the ZSL nor Solidarity have the cadres necessary to break it. But you should know that the nomenklatura does not feed on ideology. It is linked to money, to the posts it acquires. If the PZPR's support disappears, it will serve whoever pays it. It is available.

[LE FIGARO] The Communist Party says it will not be content with two portfolios. Apart from defense and internal affairs, which portfolios are you prepared to let them have, finance, foreign affairs?

[Bentkowski] Certainly not finance. First because a government must know how much it is giving to its army and police. Foreign affairs I doubt too. It is a question of image, of credibility abroad. I think that the PZPR will have a maximum of three ministers.

Three Ministries for the PZPR

[LE FIGARO] Who is the third?

[Bentkowski] I don't know yet.

[LE FIGARO] If the Communist Party gets no satisfaction are you afraid of confrontation?

[Bentkowski] The PZPR has big problems. The final statement of its Central Committee shows it has no intention of giving up. Some Communists are ready for a confrontation. For the Communist Party leadership it could be a means of becoming credible again. Let's hope that for those people it only means a political confrontation.

[LE FIGARO] It seems that it is to humor the USSR and the rest of the Warsaw Pact that you will leave the army in the hands of the Communists. The Warsaw Pact defends the communist order. How long can you remain in that situation?

[Bentkowski] I would not identify the Warsaw Pact with the communist order. We want to establish a normal order, a parliamentary democracy. Remaining in the pact does not bother us.

[LE FIGARO] In Hungary people are starting to say openly that one day they will have to leave the Warsaw Pact....

[Bentkowski] We prefer to act rather than talk. And we have already done a lot. The communist system has been broken in Poland. Hungary is still a long way from that. For the moment we see no need to question our membership of the Warsaw Pact. But it is perhaps a problem which will come up in discussion in the Sejm during the debate on the Defense Ministry budget.

[LE FIGARO] Does the ZSL not fear it will be crushed in the alliance with Solidarity?

[Bentkowski] We will do everything to prove otherwise. You know, in the preceding coalition (LE FIGARO editorial note: with the Communist Party) we were also crushed. That did not prevent us from remaining ourselves.

[LE FIGARO] What are the first steps which Tadeusz Makowiecki's government will have to take?

[Bentkowski] Everyone is waiting for the rapid formation of a government. The most urgent thing is to put food supplies in order. We will have to bring in more food. There is not enough in Poland. Next we will have to contain inflation. You will have to give us a year.

[LE FIGARO] Do you expect aid from the West, in particular from Europe?

[Bentkowski] I will give you a personal reply. At a certain time Poland was put into the communist camp by force. It is a responsibility shared by the United States, France, and Britain. Today we have the right to expect the Western countries to help us get out.

[LE FIGARO] Have you already had contacts on this point?

[Bentkowski] No. But there are precedents. In the seventies the West did a lot to get Egypt out of Moscow's orbit.

Orzechowski Previews Party Congress

LD2808191489 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1730 GMT 28 Aug 89

[No video available]

[Text] Marian Orzechowski, chairman of the PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Parliamentary Floor Group, has been visiting Biala Podlaska.

[Correspondent] The 11th congress. What kind of platform will it have? To whom should it in the main be addressed? These were some of the questions and doubts addressed to Professor Marian Orzechowski at a meeting in Biala Podlaska.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified speaker] What is your view, professor, on short-term alliances, even with the Citizens' Parliamentary Floor Group [OKP], concerning economic matters?

[Orzechowski] These are issues of the state, society, and the nation which no one party, no one force can resolve alone. Among these issues there are also economic matters. Here an alliance of all responsible and sensible forces is vital. I am in favor of collaborating with the OKP, with everyone.

[Second unidentified speaker] The true, real balance of power will take shape after the Solidarity congress and the party congress. The party is going toward its 11th congress and what it is going to be like after the 11th congress is not without significance.

[Orzechowski] The program has to proceed first and foremost from the needs of the working people, who are the biggest social group, from their strivings, their doubts, and their aspirations. There are increasingly more doubts. For instance, are the social achievements of the people's Poland going to be preserved? Is reprivatization in various walks of

our national life, especially in the economy, not going to undermine such things as equality of opportunity, universal availability of education, universal availability of a health service? If the party manages to answer these doubts, these strivings, and these aspriations and build its program and its working structures around them, I think we shall have found a road toward renascence. That is why I am in favor of our party's congress taking place as soon as possible, that is as soon as the party can prepare for it well, because a congress that is organized by the apparatus, from above, according to the old methods, will lead to no good.

[Third unidentified speaker] But there is pressure to change the name of the party. Could you, comrade professor, say anything on the subject?

[Orzechowski] I can say that as early as the 10th plenum we said that it was not a taboo. Today everyone is speaking about it. Why? Because there are certain anachronistic things in the name of the party. "United"—who these days remembers 1948 and especially the circumstances. "Workers"—not only workers but working people. We had this issue before the ninth congress and I made proposals myself. Looking through materials which arrive at the Central Committee I have counted at least 30 different names. I would personally opt for at least three words being retained in the name of our party: "Polish," "socialist"—"Polish", because it's national, proceeding from the national interest and serving the national interests, "socialist," because its strategic objective is modern, humane, and democratic socialism, and "work," some version of the word "work," because we represent the interests of the working people: Thus, for example, the Polish Socialist Party of the Working People or something in a similar spirit. I think that a great many proposals go precisely in that direction. I would not like us to prejudge anything before the congress. This should be a sovereign decision of the 11th congress. [end recording]

Krol Views Proposed Constitutional Changes

LD2508183789 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] [Announcer] PZPR [Polish United Workers' Party] Central Committee Secretary Marek Krol met with journalists from Wielkopolska region.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] In your view, what changes should be expected in the near future regarding the functioning of the mass media?

[Krol] There will certainly not be revolutionary changes. I judge that [words indistinct] that was initiated a few years ago in order to widen the autonomy and independence of thinking of journalists, not to repress those who think differently, even if they think differently in party bodies, to give the possibility of really exchanging thoughts, polemics, discussion. The period of what I call protocol work has ended—I often see in the papers reports from various meetings that are making often very just and valuable decisions, but I as an ordinary person I am not really concerned with this. I want to see results.

[Correspondent] A group of deputies from the PZPR parliamentary floor group has proposed changes in the constitution, among others the removal of the clause relating to the leading role of the party. Could you comment on this, please?

[Krol] We were fully aware that this clause is an anachronism, for is it possible to imagine Premier Mazowiecki's government taking part in the Politburo meetings? As I recall, Premier Mazowiecki was not recommended by the Central Committee plenum. And so, as the clause does not concur with the facts, and as everything indicates that the process of the construction of parliamentary democracy—if nothing happens that could break it off—will progress, I feel that this initiative is just. There is no doubt that a certain group has made haste, for having gained experience from the undertaking of various other initiatives, it knows that this process is often extended and that we function quite slowly, and here they wished to function quite quickly. On the other hand, I feel that this is somehow logical, that as the ruling party, hitherto in what was actually a single-party system, one could say, we come forward with an initiative to deprive ourselves of this privilege. [end recording]

Report on PZPR Politburo Meeting Published

AU2508112389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 1

[Text] PAP—The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Politburo acquainted itself with the situation in Poland and with activities undertaken by the party since its 14th plenary meeting.

The Politburo discussed the extent of the PZPR's participation in the new government. It said that the emerging possibility of a government in which all major political forces are represented is convergent with the party's frequently reiterated proposals.

The Politburo reaffirmed that Poland needs an effective government that enjoys society's confidence. Such a government will best serve national interests.

The PZPR is keenly interested in the success of the government's work. It is ready to accept joint responsibility within the limits of possibilities that will be created for it.

The Politburo adopted the text of a statement concerning the German-Soviet pacts signed in 1939.

Foreign Ministry Spokesman Discusses 1939 Pact

AU2508134789 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Foreign Ministry Spokesman on the 1939 German-Soviet Agreements"]

[Text] In connection with the 22 August PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Politburo statement on the 1939 German-Soviet agreements, Wladyslaw Klaczynski, Ministry of Foreign Affairs spokesman, conveyed the following commentary to the POLISH PRESS AGENCY:

The PZPR Politburo statement is a particularly important event in the work that has been going on for quite some time, aimed at resolving the problem of "blank spots" in Polish-Russian and Polish-Soviet relations.

As we know, this work was undertaken on the initiative of the highest party and state authorities of the Polish People's Republic. These matters were discussed once again during Wojciech Jaruzelski's Moscow visit in April, and found expression in the communique that was published. The Polish-Soviet historians commission, investigating the problem of "blank spots," has already achieved considerable results in its work.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs is of the opinion that this commission is playing a very important and useful role. We also consider it necessary to accelerate this work, in accordance with the general expectations of Polish society.

Government bodies are also involved in this work, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The PZPR Politburo statement concerns the 1939 German-Soviet agreements, in other words one of the most important and painful issues for us in the history of Polish-Soviet relations.

The statement leaves no doubt as to the political, legal, and moral evaluation of these agreements. Because they are discordant with the rules of international law, Poland considers them as having been null and void from the very outset.

This is of major significance in international law from the point of view of the impact of the 1939 German-Soviet agreements on Poland and its citizens.

At the same time, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs makes it clear that this stance of ours in no way violates or concerns the borders established in Europe after World War II, including the existing Polish-Soviet border.

Daily Comments on Interference in Others' Affairs

AU2308104289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 19-20 Aug 89 p 8

[Witold Koski commentary: "It Is Good To Have One's Friends Near"]

[Text] At the beginning of World War II, Wladyslaw Sikorski was a leader who appreciated the value of friendship and cooperation between Poland and her closest neighbors before anyone else did. He was also the closest to reaching an agreement with Czech emigre leaders about close cooperation between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Unfortunately, there was only one thing wrong with his draft joint declaration, meant to be signed after his arrival in London. Sikorski wanted Czechoslovakia's backing for Poland's claims to preserve its prewar eastern borders. Benes did not and could not comply. He preferred to adhere to his principle of gaining friends among one's immediate surroundings without interfering in their disputes.

Yalta and Potsdam canceled out Sikorski's dispute with Benes for better or for worse. For better, because these events defined Poland's border in a way that ruled out any misunderstanding with the Soviet Union, for they gave us guarantees of security and provided us with the possibility of establishing friendly relations with our largest eastern neighbor. For worse, because they led to Europe's ideological and military division and later to numerous Stalinist distortions which restricted sovereignty in favor of dependence on a great power.

However, not even the worst past cancels out the justified principle which Urho Kekkonen formed into the following slogan: It is good to have one's friends near and one's enemies far. Everyone will admit that Finland is implementing this principle successfully even today, without Kekkonen.

Forming and preserving close friendships, close not just in the geographical sense, requires the fulfillment of several conditions. The first of these is respect for political, economic, and any other differences. The second condition is an avoidance of classifying neighbors into better or worse ones and of trying to convince other countries that one's own values are superior to theirs. These two conditions give rise to a third—noninterference in the internal affairs of other countries and governments.

Mainly due to the inspiration of perestroyka, the socialist countries have already achieved considerable progress in implementing these conditions. The declarations about new Soviet policy and numerous speeches by Mikhail Gorbachev contain assurances that the sovereignty and separateness of every single socialist country will be respected. The Brezhnev doctrine, which permitted interference for the sake of supreme ideological or military values, is dead. Current Soviet practice provides no reason to doubt the principle of equal treatment for every country, regardless of its size, location, or domestic situation. This principle was reaffirmed recently at the Bucharest meeting of the Warsaw Pact Political Consultative Committee, which said that the members of the Warsaw Pact reject any attempt at direct or indirect interference in the domestic affairs of any country whatever.

A prize to anyone who can show any of Poland's neighboring countries interfering in our affairs. Yes, there is press criticism of our reality and the way in which we are

overcoming the crisis, but can that be avoided in our small and very interdependent world? It cannot, because we too, for example, complain about the slightest trash heap set up by the Czechs near our border and say that it is polluting our atmosphere, and the Czechs complain about our tourists.

Second, some of our citizens, even prominent ones, make themselves out to be experts, entitled to export their experience and achievements. Our neighbors can ask: What kind of achievements, gentlemen? The Swedes would quote "Polska Riksdag" ("Polish parliament") the Swedish historical synonym for Polish disorganization and unreliability, whereas the average German would dismiss such boasting with a wave of the hand and mutter "Polnische Wirtschaft" [German for "Polish-style economy"].

The Czech-language paper TRIBUNA has written: "Although 'Solidarity' insists on a respect of sovereignty and noninterference in the affairs of other states, it completely ignores this principle in relation to Poland's neighbors, and is interfering in the internal affairs of Czechoslovakia." The reason for this outpour is what the Czech authorities consider to be excessively close ties between the Polish opposition and Prague dissidents.

I think the criticism voiced by TRIBUNA and other Czechoslovak sources stems from the fact that our opposition does not understand the meaning of equal relations between countries, especially neighboring ones. The opposition is mixing temporary politics with permanent links with close friends, links on which Poland depends. Although there should no longer be any taboo subjects in a changing world with new relationships between the socialist countries, we should be the last to export our experience to others and tell them how to behave, how to implement reforms, and in what direction to carry out their restructuring. Let them decide themselves.

In Czechoslovakia's case, historically speaking, we have much more to accuse ourselves of than we have to accuse Czechoslovakia of. Sikorski understood that when he discussed the unfulfilled friendship treaty with Benes. The Polish left wing understood it when it said in the July Manifesto that, after the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia is a country with which Poland must live in close friendship, because there are more joint interests with that country than divergent ones. Only myopic opportunists can fail to see that.

Poland's neighbors are currently undergoing various stages of political and economic change. Not all of these changes have to appeal to us, and not all of our changes appeal to others. In such a situation, modesty, an avoidance of grand declarations, and a respect for existing differences is the best attitude to adopt vis- a-vis one's close neighbors. To gain their friendship and respect, we do not have to apologize for the past, which was often dictated by circumstances beyond our control, and we do not have to pretend we are saints, which we are not. Real friendship requires tolerance, and there should never be a shortage of that.

As for tolerance, let me make one more remark. There are many voices to be heard about the need for a new, broader look at the German problem and our relations with the FRG. Of course, many features in these relations can be corrected today by examining the fate dealt to Poland by Hitlerism in 1939. On the other hand, it is bad when we talk and think about the FRG and forget that our closest neighbor is the GDR and that good relations with this German state are in the best common interests. Vis-a-vis the GDR, however, not only tolerance is required, but effective action to consolidate that state and our cooperation with it. There is no need to explain why when one considers that the anniversary of September 1939 is nigh. It is enough to repeat Kekkonen's words about friends which are good to have near.

Daily on 'Tragic Situation' of Poles in Romania

AU2508135489 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 23 Aug 89 p 7

[Report signed '(OI)': "Romania: Poles Without Rights, Bread, and Houses"]

[Text] In July, Nowy Soloniec, Poiana Miculi, Plesza, and Kaczyka, villages in northern Romania inhabited by the descendants of Polish highlanders from the Beskid Mountains who settled here at the beginning of the century, were photographed from the air, whereas today special teams of inspectors from Bucharest are going from one plot of land to another and recording all the assets of the Poles: fields and farm buildings. All this is due to become the property of a future cattle breeding cooperative. Only a small proportion of the inhabitants has the chance of finding employment. The rest will be stranded without any means of subsistence.

The situation of the Poles living in this part of Romania is tragic. They are receiving minute food rations, limited to one loaf of bread per person per week, and 0.5 kg each of butter, flour, and sugar per month. However, they are only entitled to these rations if they deliver the compulsory high quotas of cattle, pigs, poultry, milk, and so on.

The Romanian authorities have planned to demolish the Polish villages over the next few weeks. If this happens, about 6,000 Poles living in these four villages will be left without a roof over their heads.

The plan of "systemizing" several thousand villages, imposed by Ceausescu, involves demolishing villages and creating "agrarian-industrial complexes"—gigantic kolkhozes—in their place. This plan is aimed chiefly at the Hungarians, who inhabit most of the villages that are earmarked for demolition, although Romanians are also affected. The Polish minority in Romania has been deprived of the few modest nationality rights it had. Right now the Poles have neither Polish schools, nor their own publications. Just like the Hungarians in

Transylvania, they are being subjected to systematic Romanification. In accordance with the "systemization" plan, the churches in the erased Polish villages will be turned into—houses of culture.

Jaruzelski, Kiszczak Congratulate Romanians

LD2508123389 Warsaw PAP in English 1251 GMT 22 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 22—Poland's President Wojciech Jaruzelski and PUWP CC [Polish United Workers Party Central Committee] 1st secretary Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski sent congratulatory cables to President of the Socialist Republic of Romania and General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party Nicolae Ceausescu with best wishes for the Romanian people.

The cables express a conviction about the need for the further enriching of the traditional Polish-Romanian friendship and cooperation with new forms and essence accordingly with the requirements of the current phase of development of both states.

A congratulatory cable was also sent by Premier Czeslaw Kiszczak to Romanian Premier Constantin Dascalescu.

Jaruzelski Receives Japanese Parliamentarians

LD2408211289 Warsaw PAP in English 1823 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug, 24—President Wojciech Jaruzelski received today a visiting group of deputies of the lower house of the Japanese parliament headed by Chairman of the Parliamentary Foreign Committee Hideyuki Aizawa.

The sides discussed the development in the East-West relations and political and economic transformations under way in this country. Particular emphasis was put on Polish-Japanese cooperation. Both sides expressed the intention to expand it in the future.

The meeting was attended by Foreign Vice-Minister Jan Majewski and Japan's Ambassador to Poland Mitsutaka Akiho.

Parliamentarians Conclude Visit

OW2508053689 Tokyo KYODO in English 0235 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 24 KYODO—A five-member delegation of Japanese parliamentarians on Thursday ended their visit to Poland to observe political and economic conditions here.

During the four-day stay in Poland, the group, headed by Hideyuki Aizawa, chairman of the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, were briefed on various reforms now under way in Poland by President Wojciech Jaruzelski, Solidarity leader Lech Walesa, Solidarity's parliamentary floor leader Bronislav Geremek and other leaders.

Japanese Embassy sources here said the group members will report the outcome of their talks with Polish leaders to Japanese Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu before he departs for Washington at the end of this month to meet U.S. President George Bush to discuss in part Polish problems.

Israel's Minister of Religion Arrives for Visit

AU2408162889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 22 Aug 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Israel's Minister of Religion Continues Polish Visit"]

[Text] On Monday 21 August, the second day of his visit to Poland, Zevulun Hammer, Israel's minister of religion, was received by Mikolaj Kozakiewicz, marshal of the Sejm; and Jozef Slisz, deputy marshal of the Senate. The meetings were also attended by Wladyslaw Loranc, minister of religious affairs; and Mordechaj Palzur, chief of the Section of Israeli Interests in Poland.

"The subject of our talks" stated Minister Hammer, in his subsequent talk with PAP journalist Marek Pawlowski, "was the search for additional ways of cooperation between the Israeli Government and people, and the Polish Government and people. I came to Poland at the invitation of your minister of religious affairs in order to discuss matters of mutual interest, but owing to the fact that our two peoples are linked by a joint history going back many hundreds of years, my talks encompass broader matters."

"I get the impression" continued Hammer "that all political factions in Poland are interested in an improvement and development of good and normal relations with Israel. I hope that my visit will help toward the establishment of full normalization of relations between our two countries."

That day, the Israeli visitor visited the Jewish Historical Institute in Warsaw, and saw the current exhibition entitled "Uprising in the Warsaw Ghetto." He also acquainted himself with the institute's collection of paintings, graphics, tapestries, and other works by artists of Jewish origin, as well as seeing some of the religious treasures, and parts of the archive collection which contains 60,000 items. Professor Maurycy Horn, director of the Institute, familiarized the guest with the role and importance of the institute in preserving and making known the traditions of Jewish culture.

Minister Hammer also visited the Lazienki Park, and later, accompanied by Pinchas Menachem Joskowicz, the Chief Rabbi of Poland; and Grzegorz Rydlewski, department director in the Ministry of Religious Affairs, he visited the Jewish cemetery on Okopowa Street.

This cemetery is the resting place of about 270,000 Jews. Jews have been buried here for well over 200 years, and continue to be buried here today.

The Israeli minister also met Bishop Henryk Muszynski, the chairman of the Polish Episcopate's Commission on Contacts With Judaism.

In the afternoon, Minister Hammer had talks with Minister Loranc at the Ministry of Religious Affairs. The subject of the talks was cooperation in the preservation and renovation of, and access to, Jewish religious monuments and relics in Poland.

In the evening, the Israeli visitor met representatives of the Polish-Jewish Friendship Society.

Ioan Totu, Soviet Foreign Minister Hold Talks

AU2808185289 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1818 GMT 28 Aug 89

["Meeting of Foreign Ministers of Romania and USSR"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Moscow AGERPRES, 28/8/1989—A meeting took place on 26 and 27 August between Ioan Totu, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee of the CC [Central Committee] of the RCP [Romanian Communist Party], minister of foreign affairs of Romania, and Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPSU, minister of foreign affairs of the USSR. During the talks held on the occasion questions were approached related to the Romanian-Soviet relations. The two ministers informed each other about the stage of socialist construction in their countries, about the activity of the working people in Romania and the USSR for the implementation of the programmes set by the Thirteenth RCP Congress and for the translation into fact of the resolutions of the Twenty-Seventh Congress of the CPSU.

Particular stress was laid on the decisive importance of the meetings and talks between Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Mikhail Gorbachev for the development of the manysided cooperation between the two countries. Deep satisfaction was expressed at the fact that, in the spirit of the understandings covenanted at top level, in Bucharest and Moscow, the bilateral ties of friendship followed an upward course on the basis of the principles promoted among the allied countries, in the spirit of the new political thinking. The two ministers pointed to the particular importance of economic cooperation, of the application of new forms, emphasizing the need to intensify economic links, increase deliveries of goods manufactured by means of cooperation in production and production specialization.

During the meeting special attention was paid to questions related to a steadily growing cooperation between the foreign policy departments of the two countries. Emphasis was placed on the need for intensified contacts in that area, for more efficient consultations on bi- and multi-lateral bases.

The special importance was underscored, in the current circumstances, of the cooperation of the Warsaw Treaty allied countries, of the improvement of the mechanism of their economic collaboration with a view to boosting its efficiency, of the consolidation of the positions of the socialist countries in the international arena. The dynamism and spirit of initiative characteristic of the policy of the socialist states were relevantly proved by the Bucharest meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Treaty States which reiterated their joint orientation towards the development and expansion of the positive processes under way in international relations. In that context, the importance was stressed of permanent contacts between the foreign ministers of the allied socialist countries, of a substantial exchange of opinions on questions of mutual interest, comparing viewpoints and stances on developments in the world.

It was considered that in the period to follow special attention should be paid to the fulfilment of current tasks in the area of disarmament, to the implementation of the other understandings within the all-European process. The two ministers highlighted their countries' wish to contribute, on multiple planes, to the success of the new stage of the Vienna talks on the reduction of conventional weapons and on confidence-building measures and reiterated the stance of Romania and of the USSR on an urgent start of talks on the elimination of tactical nuclear weapons from Europe.

The two countries' foreign ministers stated for intensified efforts on the part of all states to settle the sharpest regional conflicts and the hotbeds of tension in the international arena.

The meeting passed in an atmosphere of sincerity, collaboration and friendship.

AFP Says Stiffening of Border Controls Denied

AU2908065589 Paris AFP in English 0127 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] Bucharest, Aug 29 (AFP)—Romania denied Monday that it had stiffened border controls as press reports in other East Bloc countries claimed last week.

Changes to the procedures introduced on July 17 did not authorize frontier guards to fire on fugitives, as reported by the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG and the Hungarian newspaper MAGYAR NEMZET, Romanian sources said.

Frontier guards were allowed to fire only if attacked or attempts were made to disarm them, the sources said.

They also dismissed reports in the same media that Romania was about to install a "sophisticated alarm system."

The new regulations would apply not only to the border with Hungary and Yugoslavia but also to those with Romania's northern and southern neighbours, the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, the sources added.

Ceausescu Interviewed by Yugoslav Magazine

AU2508092589 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 21 Aug 89 pp 1, 5

["Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's Interview to Yugoslav Magazine 'DANAS,'" in Bucharest on 17 August]

[Text] As announced, on 17 August this year Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP] and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, received Miroslav Lazanski, special envoy of the SFRY magazine "DANAS," whom he gave the following interview:

Question: Esteemed Comrade President, two events will come up shortly: the anniversary of the great 23 August holiday and the 14th RCP Congress. What are the current results of the Romanian economy?

Answer: In a few days, on 23 August, the Romanian people will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution for social and national liberation, which liquidated the old bourgeois-landlord system and imperialist domination and paved the way for great socioeconomic economic changes and for socialist construction in Romania.

Indeed, 45 years ago Romania was a poorly developed agrarian-industrial country, with strong feudal remnants still prevailing in the economy and in the political and social life. Today, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country, with modern industry that is organized on the latest achievements of science and technology, and with socialist agriculture whose progress is in full swing. This development is reflected in industrial production growth, which this year showed a 135-fold increase over 1945, of which more than 120-fold occurred after the 1965 Ninth RCP Congress. Agricultural production has increased more than 10-fold, of which more than 6-fold was after the ninth congress. This year we obtained the largest agricultural production in Romania's entire history, and one can say that it has one of the largest yields per hectare in the world: more than 8,000 kg of wheat and 7,000 kg of barley per hectare nationwide, as well as large outputs for other crops.

Therefore, the recent plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture estimated that we will obtain a total grain crop of more than 40 million tonnes in 1989, thus attaining, as of this year, the long-term targets of the Ninth 5-Year Plan and of the plans up to the year 2000. On this basis, the national income increased more than 40-fold, of which more than 33-fold was after 1965.

What made all these great achievements in our socioeconomic development possible?

First, we eliminated the old system, strongly expanded the whole nation's socialist ownership in industry and other branches, cooperativized agriculture, and generally developed a strong cooperative sector in other branches of activity.

Second, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, we allocated more than 30 percent of the national income to development. This allowed us to made great industrial-agricultural investments and increase fixed assets from 160 billion lei to more than 3,600 billion lei today! We paid great attention to deploying the forces of production, industry, other sectors, and transportation, and particularly to developing agriculture in all parts of the country. We built hundreds of new industrial platforms, setting out from the principle of ensuring a balanced development of all counties, in order to eliminate the inheritance of the past, namely a country with some very developed and some very backward regions. Today, this is no longer the case in Romania!

On this basis, we attached great importance to strongly developing scientific research, education, and the cultural activity, with the belief that everything we achieve must rely on the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres and that we must have a workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia with a high level of professional, technical, scientific, and cultural training. Today, the entire young generation attends the 10-year education system and almost 80 percent complete 12 years of education. As of next year, the entire young generation will attend the 12-year school system, while higher education will prepare cadres for all fields of activity. These measures contributed to raising the skill and qualifaction level of the workers class and experts, and increasing the pace of the country's development. Without thoroughly training the people, we would not have been able to achieve our current results!

We have also built dwellings and social establishments for education, culture, health, and other purposes. Anyone visiting Romania can see for himself the great number of new housing units in our towns and communes. In general, one can say that more than 80 percent of the country's citizens today live in new dwellings.

At the same time, the remuneration fund increased 75 times compared with 1945.

Therefore, we proceeded from the principle that everything we achieve must be reflected in the improvement of the people's working and living conditions, and we can state that we managed to substantially raise living standards and strongly increase the ranks of the workers class and intelligentsia.

These are Romania's socioeconomic results, which—and I want to emphasize this—mean that we are attaining the goals of socialist construction. On the basis of these results, one can say that Romania has fulfilled the targets of the first stage of the construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society, and that at the end of the current 5-year plan, that is next year, our country will enter a new stage, the stage of a medium-developed socialist country.

Therefore, we strongly claim that only socialism facilitated Romania's elimination of its century-old backwardness and raised our country to its current high socioeconomic development level!

Question: The Socialist Republic of Romania paid back its foreign debt. How was this done and at what cost? What was the total value of this debt and how long did it take to repay it? Will Romania further resort to loans from abroad? Do you think that a country that owes money to foreign creditors becomes, in a certain way, dependent on those credits and loses, to a certain extent, part of its sovereignty?

Answer: Indeed, Romania, like many other countries, made the mistake of resorting to and taking out too many loans; however, these loans increased as a result of excessively high interest rates, which at a certain point

exceeded 20 percent. As a matter of fact, the debts of the developing countries, which today amount to more than 1,300 billion dollars, are the result of this policy, of high interest rates, and of the plunder of international monopolies and financial capital! In 1980 Romania's debt topped 11 billion dollars. However, if we figure out the debt and the interest we paid from 1975 until March this year, we can say that we have paid more than 24 billion dollars, of which almost 17 billion has been paid since 1980. That was the price we had to pay for the debts we once incurred!

In 1980 we took the decision to repay the debt in full, because we considered that this foreign debt was hampering our socioeconomic development and the construction of socialist society.

At a certain point, in 1982, we also accepted the stipulations of the International Monetary Fund, which asked us to observe a number of conditions, which it actually imposes on all countries applying for credits to this day, namely to devalue the national currency, renounce investments, cut down on social expenditures, and other similar burdens, which are known to everybody. Initially we agreed to all that, but a few months later we realized that to follow such a road would mean disorganizing the national economy. We unilaterally canceled the agreement with the International Monetary Fund and worked out a program of our own, which aimed, first of all, at maintaining the development rate of the national economy, and second, at preserving the people's living standard and incomes, while also ensuring their appropriate growth every 5-year period. We also came to the conclusion that the level of domestic interest rates was very high, thus slowing down rather than stimulating development. Consequently, we reduced some of these interest rates on several occasions, and generally set their level to under 5 percent, down to 2-3 percent in some sectors. Particularly in agriculture, we adopted a financing system which excludes all interest! Furthermore, we considered that all prices, primarily consumer prices, should be kept under control.

On this basis, along with the repayment of our foreign debt, we also invested more than 2,000 billion lei in various sectors, that is the equivalent of some 200-220 billion dollars at the noncommercial rate. In this period we completed great industrial and agricultural development projects and commissioned the Danube-Black Sea Canal, including the second course from Midia-Navodari, that is some 100 km; we also built the Bucharest subway and the new center of the capital, developed a vast system of irrigation, and greatly expanded housing and other construction in all towns and communes.

In this period we increased remuneration and pensions twice; the second remuneration increase concluded on 1 August this year.

For almost 6 years the prices of consumer goods stayed the same, and in industry costs were even reduced in some branches.

Therefore, since you asked me about the price we had to pay for all this, I can say that the price was the development of the national economy and the growth of the people's overall living standard!

If we had not done this, we would not have been able to repay our debts! Looking at various countries that did not pay due attention to their socioeconomic development, we can easily see that they lack the necessary material base to repay their debts!

Based on our own experience and from what we saw happening in the world, we took the decision to no longer resort to any kind of credits. We enacted a special law along these lines, forbidding any enterprise or person from resorting to loans which can commit our state or people in any way. We believe that we have sufficient means to promote our country's socioeconomic development in accordance with our long-term plans!

As a matter of fact, simple addition shows that it is an illusion to think that loans can assist economic growth! Of course, a rational financial system with reasonable interest rates is necessary and can play a certain role in economic development. But in the current circumstances, when credits have turned into a means of exporting national income and only cater to the interests of the international monopolies and financial capital, we believe it is totally unprofitable to resort to credits!

As far as Romania is concerned, it has also granted certain credits. Today, we have a balance-of-payments surplus of more than 2.5 billion dollars and, in the future, we are ready to cooperate with other countries, by granting certain credits for socioeconomic development, on a rational and justifiable basis.

Regarding the last part of your question, on the maintenance of independence and sovereignty, everybody knows the current trend of thought in the developing countries. Everybody knows of their commitments to certain developed capitalist states, to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, and to other international banks! It is no secret that the granting of credits, but also the rescheduling of the existing foreign debt is conditional on certain measures being adopted—measures that lead to the destabilization of various national economies—especially privatization and the demand that the state ownership of social ownership in various fields be eliminated!

It is obvious that all this amounts to inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of various countries, which thus become dependent countries, in one way or the other. It amounts to brutal violation of their sovereignty, which runs totally counter to the principles of the UN Charter and to the requirement that interstate relations be based on the principles of equal rights, mutual advantage, respect for independence, and noninterference in domestic affairs.

Question: Comrade President, does that mean that you plan to acquire the new technologies that we want to buy

now, after the repayment of your debt, through cooperation or the promotion of Romanian exports?

Answer: First of all, I would like to emphasize that Romania itself is committed to strong scientific activity and to modernization in all spheres. We have a number of joint ventures with other socialist countries, including Yugoslavia, and can solve many highly technical problems without turning to others!

Of course, we are in favor of broad cooperation with other states, but we want to achieve this on the basis of the principles of equality and cooperation, and this includes the development of new technologies.

Question: Comrade President, would you be so kind as to tell us what stages will be covered by your country in the next period and what are the RCP's plans for Romania's transition to the communist society in the future?

Answer: I have already made a brief outline of Romania's current development level. Now we are preparing for the 14th RCP Congress. Last June's plenum worked out a program-directive for Romania's development up to the year 1995 and for our long-term plans up to the year 2000 and, in several fields, up to the year 2010. These targets are based on the party's overall strategic program, adopted 15 years ago, on Romania's construction of the comprehensively developed socialist society and its advance toward communism. We believe that, as of 1991, we will have entered the superior stage of the implementation of this program. According to the targets of the program-directive, which lays emphasis on the intensive development of all sectors and of the great role of modern science and technology in all fields, the Romanian economy will grow by 70-80 percent in the year 2000 compared with 1990. Production will probably double in several spheres. We will conclude the housing construction in towns, ensuring appropriate housing conditions for each citizen. We will ensure that the workers class becomes an intellectual workers class and the peasantry, an intellectual peasantry. We will further increase social expenditures in the next decade and will create conditions for the broad application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. To this end, we will achieve a certain balance between small and large incomes, which has reached a ratio of 1 to 4.7, and will probably come down to 1 to 4.5.

On the basis of all these developments, we estimate that by the year 2000 we will have concluded, in general terms, both stages of the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

Romania will reach a level of economic, social, scientific, and cultural development which will be able to ensure a high standard of living, in accordance with the greatest requirements of science in all areas.

Question: Are education and schoolbooks free of charge in your country? They are very expensive in Yugoslavia!

Answer: Yes, these things are free of charge! This has virtually been the case for the past 15 years. Likewise, child care and health care are also free of charge. As a matter of fact, we plan to increase social expenditures by the year 2000, because they play an important role in equalizing the standard of living of our citizens. We do not have in mind an egalitarian system! We want to maintain a differentiation between incomes, but in a reasonable way, starting from the principle of equal pay for equal work and, certainly, we want to maintain a differentiation between branches. For example, in our country, miners are included in the highest pay category among our workers, and we will continue to maintain this situation.

We have introduced the overall contract system which, on the basis of the work carried out and of the production, makes possible the achievement of unlimited income! However, we firmly apply the principle that nobody can have an income without work and nobody can live without work! Nobody can live by exploiting other people's work!

On this basis, we will create conditions for economic, social, and general development that permits the gradual transition to the implementation of the principles of communist organization and a communist way of living. As far as industry and agriculture are concerned, they must be based on the latest scientific discoveries and we will create the necessary conditions to ensure it! However, from a social point of view, this depends on the application of the principles of communist ethics and equity. We have achieved a lot and continue to proceed along this road! We believe that around the year 2000 we will possess the necessary conditions to emphasize the application of these principles!

Question: Comrade President, what prestige does the RCP enjoy among the ranks of the workers class?

Answer: Today the RCP has over 3.8 million members, of which more than 55 percent are workers, about 18 percent peasants, and over 20 percent intellectuals in various sectors of activity, and the rest come from various other social categories.

Since the creation of the first workers party in Romania in 1893, and then of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921, our party has developed as the party of the workers class. Intellectuals and peasants have always been included among the ranks of the party, and our Communist Party has remained and will continue to remain the party of the workers class! In accordance with the requirements formulated by the classics of scientific socialism, the party should always remain a party of the workers class! The intellectuals who are joining the party or who are party members should identify themselves with the interests of the workers class, which is the most advanced social force. In socialism, in communism, and certainly in the far future, the workers class will continue

to be the strongest class. No doubt, with other requirements and characteristics, it will have a historic mission—and will continue to have this mission in the future—to play the leading role in society.

Our Communist Party has proceeded and continues to proceed from these principles and everything it has done so far has aimed at achieving the objectives of the workers class, of the peasantry, the intelligentsia, and of the whole nation.

Therefore, the role of the party and the prestige it enjoys are not accidental and are not slogans, but are the result of its activity since its creation up to our time, and of its firm position to completely identify itself with the interests of the workers class and of the whole nation, and to ensure the development of the country and the construction of socialism. Everything that we have achieved and continue to achieve is the result of our party policy and the result of the unity of workers, peasants, intelligentsia, and of our whole nation around the party. As a matter of fact we have already formulated the theses for achieving socialism with the people and for the people!

Question: What are your country's concerns for modernizing society and what is your opinion about concerns for modernization in the other socialist countries?

Answer: I have mentioned in my answer to one of your previous questions the important role played by the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965 in developing the socialist construction in Romania. Starting with this congress, we decided that we must put an end to set patterns, conservatism, dogmatism, and to the so-called single model of socialist construction. Proceeding from the principle that the building of socialism should be carried out in a way that differs from one country to another and from one stage to another, in accordance with the realities prevailing in each country, and that the objective laws and principles of scientific socialism should be understood and applied in accordance with the realities prevailing in each country, we have restored a sense of dignity and independence to the party and people and we are proceeding to carry out profound changes and modernization in organizing our society and in managing all sectors of activity. In the economy we introduced the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing and we adopted, under law, the provisions wherby workers—or the personnel of an enterprise—are the collective owners of the fixed assets that are entrusted to them for administration and they are responsible toward society for their proper management and development.

We have modernized the forms of socialist ownership. A long time ago we renounced the theses of differences between various forms of socialist ownership, because we believe that the joint property of our whole nation—known in general as state socialist property and cooperative property—represent two forms which are in complete accordance with socialist principles, and in this respect no form is superior to the other.

A long time ago, actually 20 years ago, we renounced one-man management in enterprises. We introduced the principle of collective management and collective responsibility, setting up working people's councils, of which at least 30 percent must be workers. We have institutionalized by law the general meetings of owners and producers—as the highest management bodies in an enterprise—and we have continuously adopted measures to improve and perfect them.

It is obvious that we have always given an important place—I want to repeat this—to the issues of science, modern technology, quality, economic efficiency, and profitability, and we continue to work along this line.

We believe that the issues of modernization and improvement of technology and management are problems with a permanent character. They cannot be solved once and for all or every 20-30 years! They are, if I may say so, problems in everyday activity and one must permanently bear in mind the new scientific and technological discoveries which should be reflected both in the methods of economic management and in the democratization process. However, this means the people's participation in the management of society!

That is how we have worked so far, how we are currently working, and how we intend to work in the future!

As far as some measures that are being adopted in various countries are concerned, we believe—starting from the principle that I have mentioned regarding the right of each party and people to independently establish its political line and its development—that each party and each people should seek the best ways for improvement, which are in accordance with the situation in the respective countries and which take into consideration their stage of development.

Nevertheless, I must frankly tell you that, proceeding from this, we are concerned over the fact that in some countries the improvement activity implies the renunciation of some socialist achievements, in the organization and management of the economy and of various social achievements which are specific to socialism and are linked to the very essence of socialism. Therefore, we believe that the systems of managing and running the economic activity should be improved, but society must go forward not backward! Whereas a return to capitalist forms of property or economic management means neither improvement nor advancement!

Question: There are some people who ask themselves whether there is a socialist economy or a capitalist economy, a good economy or a bad economy. What is your opinion about this?

Answer: There is a capitalist economy and there is a socialist economy! The differences between them are well-known! The essential issue in this matter is linked to the ownership of the means of production, to the existence or nonexistence of exploitation of man by man, and to the system of production distribution.

Forms of economic management can differ and some of them can be even identical. It is not the form of management but the form of ownership that is essential. As is well-known, Marx said as early as 1848 that one of the basic issues is the transformation of private ownership of the means of production into common property, with everything that such revolutionary activity entails.

No doubt the capitalist economy had scored very good results and it still continues to do so, but its basis remains capitalist and it bears the defects that call for its elimination.

The socialist economy and socialist industry have scored very good results! We believe that socialism has had very important achievements, although some poor activity can be noted as well. However, an improvement in socialism cannot mean a return to capitalism but the removing of shortfalls, consolidation of the property of the whole people, and the ensuring of progress! Socialism means the firm application of the principles of collective ownership of the means of production, the prohibition of man's exploitation by man, and the equitable distribution of products and incomes among all members of society! Therefore, speaking of socialism, we firmly support the belief that the current problems will be overcome and socialism will assert itself even more vigorously and will continue to progress!

As a matter of fact, it is difficult to assume that people, the workers class, and communists who chose the road of socialism will give up everything that they have achieved and will give up their long-standing struggle just because of some difficulties that have cropped up. On the contrary, I am convinced that they will unite their forces in order to overcome difficulties and ensure progress!

Question: Comrade President, please tell us about the modernization of rural localities in Romania, an issue that has given rise to speculation in West Europe. What is your opinion about this?

Answer: In 1968 we carried out a new territorial-administrative reorganization of our country. We abolished regions and districts and reestablished our traditional counties. Accordingly, we established the administrative system based on counties, towns, and communes, that is, a number of villages and localities are included in a commune. As a matter of fact, this has always been the principle of administrative organization in Romania. What we did in 1968 was to enhance the role of towns and communes according to the principles of territorial-administrative self-management. In the past 20 years we have created 82 new towns. The old towns have also developed greatly; thus, today the urban population represents 60 percent of the population of our country.

In general, we intended to provide conditions for the working people so as to make them remain in their own localities, in their own communes, where we plan to add to the existing material base the possibility for young people to undergo education for 12 years in their own locality or in a neighboring one; we also plan to completely solve the health care problem and develop traditional Romanian cultural establishments. We should add to all this the development of agriculture, of small-scale industry, commercial activities, and of other activities. Therefore, we proceed from the goal that residents in communes should have everything they need for their everyday life in their own commune! We want people in communes to have in their own locality everything that can be found in towns. We have built dwellings in communes for workers and experts and we will continue to do so. We have established a systematization program, so that everybody should build their houses within the established boundaries, thus we must put an end to the anarchy of the past. We are also concerned with the road and electricity network and with all the rest of the infrastructure system, which should be organized in a uniform and modern way.

What do we want after all? We want to do all we can to bring living conditions in villages and communes as close as possible to the conditions that exist in towns! This is our goal in the field of modernizing communes! Without it one cannot talk about raising the standard of living in Romania and we do not want to have developed towns and backward villages. We know that this will take a long time, but what we have achieved so far entitles us to believe that this target will be commendably achieved!

Question: Are there problems in the relations with Hungary? What is your opinion about national minorities and how do they affect relations between states?

Answer: Over time, Romania and Hungary have developed relations of cooperation as socialist countries.

As far as we are concerned, we have no problems whatsoever with Hungary. We have always advocated and continue to speak out for relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation in socialist construction and all spheres.

It is true that certain claims were made concerning responsibility for the lives of certain Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality, but at the same time other statements were made to the effect that this is understood to be a problem of socialist Romania. As a matter of fact, it is obvious that the lives of citizens of another nationality who are Romanian citizens is linked to events in Romania and to Romania's development. The increase in their living standard cannot be ensured from abroad, but rather here, in Romania! These principles are not only stipulated by our Constitution—which we consider to be among the best, as it guarantees full equality among all citizens—but are also corroborated by reality, since we have ensured and continue to guarantee full equality of rights, and there is no discrimination whatsoever in any sphere, not from the viewpoint of nationality or race, as is the case in other countries, nor from the viewpoint of age and so forth.

However, all the fatherland's citizens have the same obligations in their capacity as citizens of the Socialist

Republic of Romania. As a matter of fact, international law has clear stipulations in this respect, hence it is superfluous to emphasize this point!

Generally speaking, we want to develop good cooperation with our neighbors, on the principles of equality and mutual respect, so that we can help each other in solving certain problems that emerge in one or the other country, without claims about interference in the domestic affairs of another state. As good neighbors, we must cooperate and help each other in the interest of our nations and of their present and future!

Question: The Socialist Republic of Romania was the first country to speak out for reducing military expenditures and budgets and concurrently abolishing the military blocs. What are your country's latest proposals in this respect?

Answer: Romania has always advocated disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and we believe that this is the key issue of contemporary mankind!

As far as we are concerned, Romania did not only talk, but actually proceeded to a unilateral reduction in troops, arms, and military expenditures. On the basis of known data, today Romania is a country which spends the smallest per capita amounts on armaments in Europe. Generally speaking, our country's military expenditures do not exceed 3 percent of the national income, and we plan to further reduce this percentage in the future. As a matter of fact, I can tell you that this allowed us and helped us to implement our development programs and repay our foreign debt.

In view of the serious problems in the world, we believe that steps should be taken, with the participation of all states, to reach an agreement on the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, to ensure that NATO renounces the modernization of its tactical and short-range missiles, to halt nuclear tests, to cancel the program for the militarization of outer space, and to commendably conclude the Vienna negotiations on reducing arms, military expenditures, and conventional weapons, obviously under appropriate international control.

In our opinion, this problem cannot be solved by only two or several countries. All states, particularly the small and medium-sized ones and the developing and nonaligned countries should actively participate in negotiations and in finding solutions to these problems.

In this respect, Romania firmly speaks out for turning the Balkans into an area of peace and to overcome certain topical differences. We certainly want to turn the Balkans into a region free of nuclear and chemical weapons, without military and chemical bases, and we advocate peaceful and equal cooperation among all nations!

Question: In your capacity as Supreme Commander of the Romanian Armed Forces, what can you tell us about Romania's military doctrine?

Answer: Romania and the Romanian Armed Forces worked out their military doctrine a long time ago; it is based on self-defense and on repelling any outside aggression, proceeding from the principle that the country's defense is the obligation of the whole nation. Hence, our entire doctrine is geared to defending Romania's independence and sovereignty and the achievements of the socialist revolution.

As a matter of fact, we have always spoken out against any doctrines with aggressive goals! Therefore, we organized our armed forces in the spirit of this defensive doctrine, setting out from the conviction that the country's defense capability and strength must primarily rely on the development of the national economy and the growth of the people's living standard. We know that only under these conditions will we guarantee the viability of our doctrine on the defense of the national independence and sovereignty and of socialism. In view of these plans for the country's development, we intend to stand firm to these principles!

Question: Some European organizations have expressed reservations concerning human rights in Romania. We are very interested to know your opinion about that, because those groups also attack Yugoslavia. What can you tell us about this problem?

Answer: Romania has played an active role in organizing the Helsinki conference on security, disarmament, and cooperation in Europe. Even then, the basic problems of human rights figured prominently on the agenda of discussions.

In the meantime, certain reactionary circles, ignoring the truly basic rights, are trying to interfere in the domestic affairs of various countries, including Romania. In particular, there is much talk about emigration. We have always solved problems in a humanitarian spirit, including the right to family unification, but we have been and still are against any stimulation of and support for the policy of emigration! We believe that this is something that runs counter to true human rights, and serves the interests of imperialist circles and monopolies, helping them to enlist specialists and scientists from other countries.

On the other hand, we have always attached importance and continue to pay great attention to ensuring the right to work, particularly for the young generation, thus resolving the most serious problem, namely unemployment. We advocate the creation of educational conditions for the entire young generation and demand the elimination of discrimination against sex or race when it comes to ensuring equal remuneration for equal work—as is the case with blacks in the United States, but also in other countries. We focused on and continue to concern ourselves with solving the housing problem, which is another serious matter in many developed countries. It is known that poverty has increased in these countries, along with crime and drug abuse. Poverty has become a national problem in many capitalist countries and, along

with various reductions in social expenditures, it really affects the right to free and dignified existence of scores of millions of people!

As a matter of fact, these are the key aspects of human rights! To try to invent other problems means to try to divert the attention of ones own peoples from the serious socioeconomic realities that need to be resolved!

Question: Since we are coming close to the end of this interview, allow us, esteemed Comrade President, to ask you a personal question. It would be interesting to know how you view the cooperation with your wife, Comrade Elena Ceausescu, in your highly responsible political activity?

Answer: As far as my wife is concerned, we have known each other for 50 years, from the time of the revolutionary movement. She is an RCP activist and fulfills party-state duties in accordance with decisions taken by the party-state leadership.

It is obvious that, when people belonging to the same family have the same political concepts and even operate in the same party and state, this is a very important thing!

Question: We thank you, esteemed Comrade President, and we ask you to tell us your opinion on the cooperation between our countries and the prospects of the Romanian-Yugoslav relations.

Answer: We must point out that relations between Romania and Yugoslavia have registered a good development along the years. For a long time, an important role in this respect was played by meetings, agreements, and understandings jointly reached with President Josip Broz Tito.

Generally speaking, we believe that the present relations between our countries are good, but not up to the potential possibilities of the two countries. There are great opportunities for expanding Romanian-Yugoslav economic relations in a short period of time, beginning with production-sharing, economic exchanges, and cooperation in science, technology, culture, and other spheres. As a matter of fact, if we look back in the more distant past, including the period between the two world wars, Romania and Yugoslavia have always maintained relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation, based on older traditions and on the new ones that have developed in the years of socialist construction. We believe that there are good prospects for expanding and developing relations between our parties and peoples along the road of building socialism, strengthening each nation's independence and well-being, and cooperating in many international problems, where our positions are identical or very close.

The continuation of traditional annual meetings at the level of heads of state—we are for the continuation of such meetings—lets us believe that the Romanian-Yugoslav friendship will continue to successfully develop in the future, to the benefit and in the interest of our countries and peoples and of the cause of peace, progress, and cooperation among all nations in the world. In conclusion, I would like to extend best wishes for well-being to your magazine's readers, and through them, wishes for success in socialist construction to the friendly Yugoslav peoples!

DANAS Version of Interview

AU2808084389 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 pp 49-52

[Interview with Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, by Miroslav Lazanski, special correspondent of DANAS, in Snagov, date not given: "My Truth About Romania"]

[Text] Bucharest—There is about 40 kilometers along a well-built road from the capital of the Socialist Republic of Romania to Snagov, a small town where President Nicolae Ceausescu has his summer residence from time to time. The road passes the Otopeni international airport and a settlement of the same name, which the Romanians are now "urbanizing," which is to say they are pulling down old houses and building modern new apartment blocks. The new policy of urbanization is being implemented all over the country, and not only in some selected regions. The town of Snagov lies on the shores of a beautiful lake, among large forests and cultivated parks. The president's summer villa does not give the impression of luxury; it is just a large house in the national style, with a park and walking paths. There are hurried advisers from the president's office, very discreet members of the security service, a dozen press photographers, and a Romanian television team. The moment when the president receives the "special DANAS envoy" must be recorded. This was the term used by the Romanian mass media in their reports on the meeting and on the interview on that and subsequent days. President Nicolae Ceausescu entered the vast salon at 1630 precisely, and the interview was concluded at 1950. After this, the longest interview that he has given, as people from his office told me later, Nicolae Ceausescu appeared fresh and ready for a conversation. On that morning, the president had opened a new metro line in Bucharest, visited a large new department store, returned to Snagov, and granted the interview to DANAS. This is good form for a man of 71. Nicolae Ceausescu answered all the DANAS questions without any help from paper or notes.

DANAS: Comrade President, before the great holiday, the 45th anniversary of the victory of the antifascist and anti-imperialist revolution in our [as published] country, as well as before the Congress of the Romanian Communist Party [RCP], what can you say about the achievements of the Romanian economy?

Ceausescu: Yes, great jubilees lie ahead of us. Indeed, 45 years ago Romania was an agrarian-industrial country,

with strong feudal remnants still prevailing in the political and social life. Today, Romania has become an industrial-agrarian country, with a modern industry that is organized on the latest achievements of science and technology, and with socialist agriculture whose progress is in full swing. The industrial production growth shows a 135-fold increase over 1945, of which more than 120-fold occurred after the 1965 Ninth RCP Congress.

Agricultural production has increased more than 10-fold, of which more than 6-fold was after the ninth congress. This year we obtained the largest agricultural production in Romania's entire history, and one can say that it has one of the largest yields per hectare in the world: more than 8,000 kg of wheat and 7,000 kg of barley per hectare nationwide, as well as large outputs for other crops.

Therefore, the recent plenary meeting of the National Council for Agriculture estimated that we will obtain a total grain crop of more than 40 million tonnes in 1989, thus attaining, as of this year, the long-term targets of the Ninth 5-Year Plan and of the plans up to the year 2000. On this basis, the national income increased more than 40-fold, of which more than 33-fold was after 1965.

DANAS: What made all these great achievements in your socioeconomic development possible?

Ceausescu: First, we eliminated the old system, strongly expanded the whole nation's socialist ownership in industry and other branches, cooperativized agriculture, and generally developed a strong cooperative sector in other branches of activity. Second, particularly after the Ninth RCP Congress, we allocated more than 30 percent of the national income to development. This allowed us to make great industrial-agricultural investments and increase fixed assets from 160 billion lei to more than 3,600 billion lei today. We paid great attention to deploying the forces of production, industry, other sectors, and transportation, and particularly to developing agriculture in all parts of the country. We built hundreds of new industrial platforms, setting out from the principle of ensuring a balanced development of all counties, in order to eliminate the inheritance of the past, namely a country with some very developed and some very backward regions. Today, this is no longer the case in Romania.

DANAS: When you spoke about the successes of the Romanian agriculture you mentioned strong cooperativization. Does that mean that you are moving toward the model of kolkhoz and sovkhoz?

Ceausescu: In our country we talk about social and state cooperatives. In Romania the cooperative sector consists of about 94 percent of all agricultural land. About 84 percent of all arable land is covered by the irrigation system.

DANAS: I asked you about kolkhozes and sovkhozes because the USSR has not really had the most brilliant results with them.

Ceausescu: I would not want to discuss this problem in this interview. I do not want to go into this now. What I do want to stress is that everything we are doing is based on the latest achievements of science and technology in all spheres and that we must have a workers class, peasantry, and intelligentsia with a high level of professional, technical, scientific, and cultural training. Today, the entire young generation goes through the 10-year education system and almost 80 percent complete 12 years of education. As of next year, the entire young generation will go through the 12-year school system, while higher education will prepare cadres for all fields of activity. All this will contribute to the accelerated development of Romania. I also want to say that more than 80 percent of the country's citizens today live in new dwellings, and that the remuneration fund for the working people increased 75 times compared with 1945. Therefore, we have managed to achieve a substantial increase in the standard of living, and to strengthen the workers class and intelligentsia.

DANAS: The Socialist Republic of Romania paid back its foreign debt. How was this done, what was the total value of this debt, and how long did it take to repay it?

Ceausescu: Romania, like many other countries, made the mistake of resorting to and taking out too many loans. However, these loans increased as a result of excessively high interest rates, which at a certain point exceeded 20 percent. As a matter of fact, the debts of the developing countries, which today amount to more than 1,300 billion dollars, are the result of this policy, of high interest rates, and of the plunder of international monopolies and financial capital. In 1980 Romania's debt topped 11 billion dollars. However, if we figure out the debt and the interest we paid from 1975 until March this year, we can say that we have paid more than 24 billion dollars, of which almost 17 billion has been paid since 1980. That was the price we had to pay for the debts we once incurred. In 1980 we decided to repay the debt in full, because we considered this foreign debt to be hampering our socioeconomic development and the construction of socialist society. At a certain point, in 1982, we also accepted the stipulations of the International Monetary Fund, which asked us to observe a number of conditions, which it actually imposes on all countries applying for credits to this day, namely to devalue the national currency, renounce investments, cut down on social expenditures, and other similar burdens, which are known to everybody.

Initially we agreed to all that, but a few months later we realized that to follow such a road would result in the disorganization of our national economy. We unilaterally canceled the agreement with the International Monetary Fund and worked out a program of our own, which aimed, first of all, at maintaining the development rate of the national economy, investing at least 30 percent of the national income in development, and preserving the people's living standard and incomes, while also ensuring their appropriate growth every 5-year period. We also came to the conclusion that the level of domestic

interest rates was very high, thus slowing down rather than stimulating development. Consequently, we reduced some of these interest rates on several occasions, and generally set their level to under 5 percent, down to 2-3 percent in some sectors. Particularly in agriculture, we adopted a financing system which excludes all kinds of interest. Furthermore, we considered that all prices, primarily consumer prices, should be kept under control.

Along with the repayment of our foreign debt, we also invested more than 2,000 billion lei in various sectors, that is the equivalent of some 200-220 billion dollars at the noncommercial rate. In this period, we completed great industrial and agricultural development projects and commissioned the Danube-Black Sea Canal, including the second course from Midia-Navodari, that is some 100 km; we also built the Bucharest subway and the new center of the capital, developed a vast system of irrigation, and greatly expanded housing and so forth. In this period we increased remuneration and pensions twice; the second remuneration increase concluded on 1 August this year. For almost 6 years the prices of consumer goods stayed the same, and in industry costs were even reduced in some branches.

DANAS: Will you raise foreign loans in the future? Do you think that the country that owes money to foreign creditors becomes, in a certain way, dependent, and is perhaps deprived of its sovereignty?

Ceausescu: Based on our own experience and from what we saw happening in the world, we took the decision to no longer resort to any kind of credits. We enacted a special law along these lines, forbidding any enterprise or person of resorting to loans which could commit our state or people in any way. As a matter of fact, simple addition shows that it is an illusion to think that loans can assist economic growth. Of course, a rational financial system with reasonable interest rates is necessary and can play a certain role in economic development. But in the current circumstances, when credits have turned into a means of exporting national income and only cater to the interests of the monopolies and the international monetary system, we believe it is totally unprofitable to resort to credits. As far as Romania is concerned, it has also granted certain credits. Today, we have a balance-of-payments surplus of more than 2.5 billion dollars.

Regarding the last part of your question, on the maintenance of independence and sovereignty, everybody is familiar with the developing countries' commitments to developed capitalist states, to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. It is no secret that the granting of new credits is conditional on certain measures being adopted—measures that lead to the destabilization of national economies in various countries—especially privatization and the demand that the state ownership of social ownership in various fields be eliminated. It is obvious that all this amounts to inadmissible interference in the domestic affairs of various countries, which thus become dependent countries, in one way or the other. It amounts to brutal violation of their sovereignty, which runs totally counter to the principles of the UN Charter.

DANAS: What are the RCP's programs for Romania's transition to a communist society in the future?

Ceausescu: Now we are preparing for the 14th RCP Congress. Last June's plenum worked out a program-directive for Romania's development up to the year 1995 and for our long-term plans up to the year 2000 and, in several fields, up to the year 2010. These targets are based on the party's overall strategic program, adopted 15 years ago, on Romania's construction of a comprehensively developed socialist society and its advance toward communism. We believe that, as of 1991, we will have entered the superior stage of the implementation of this program. The Romanian economy will grow by 70-80 percent in the year 2000 compared with 1990. Production will probably double in several spheres. We will conclude the housing construction in towns, ensuring appropriate housing conditions for each citizen. We will ensure that the workers class becomes an intellectual workers class and the peasantry, an intellectual peasantry. We will create conditions for the broad application of the principles of socialist ethics and equity. To this end, we will achieve a certain balance between small and large incomes, which has reached a ratio of 1 to 4.7, and will probably come down to 1 to 4.5. On the basis of all these developments, we estimate that by the year 2000 we will have concluded, in general terms, both stages of the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society.

DANAS: You are paying a lot of attention to education. Is education free of charge in your country?

Ceausescu: Yes, these things are free of charge! This has virtually been the case for the past 15 years. Likewise, child care and health care are also free of charge. We want to have even better social protection but do not strive toward an egalitarian system. We want to maintain a differentiation between incomes, but in a reasonable way, starting from the principle of equal pay for equal work and, certainly, we want to maintain a differentiation between branches. For example, in our country, miners are included in the highest pay category among our workers, and we will continue to maintain this situation. We allow unlimited income to be drawn on the basis of work and production carried out. However, we firmly apply the principle that nobody can have an income without work and nobody can live without working! Nobody can live by exploiting other people's work. On this basis, we will create conditions for economic, social, and general development that permits the gradual transition to communism. From a social point of view, this depends on the application of the principles of communist ethics and equity. We have achieved a lot and continue to proceed along this road.

DANAS: What prestige does the RCP enjoy among the ranks of the workers class?

Ceausescu: Today the RCP has over 3.8 million members, of which more than 55 percent are workers, about 18 percent peasants, and over 20 percent intellectuals in various sectors of activity, and the rest come from various other social categories. Since the creation of the first workers party in Romania in 1893, and then of the Romanian Communist Party in 1921, our party has developed as the party of the workers class. Intellectuals and peasants have always been included among the ranks of the party, and our Communist Party has remained and will continue to remain the party of the workers class. In accordance with the requirements formulated by the classics of scientific socialism, the party should always remain a party of the workers class. The intellectuals who are joining the party or who are party members should identify themselves with the interests of the workers class. In socialism, in communism, and certainly in the far future, the workers class will continue to be the strongest class. No doubt, with other requirements and characteristics, it will have a historic mission. Therefore, the prestige that the party enjoys is not accidental, and is not a slogan, but is the result of its firm position to completely identify itself with the interests of the workers class and of the whole nation. We have already formulated the theses for achieving socialism with the people and for the people.

DANAS: What are your country's concerns for modernizing society and what is your opinion about modernization and perestroyka in other socialist countries? What happened to the six former officials who sent you a letter?

Ceausescu: I have mentioned in my answer to one of your previous questions the important role played by the Ninth RCP Congress in 1965 in developing the socialist construction in Romania. Starting with this congress, we decided that we must put an end to set patterns, conservatism, dogmatism, and to the so-called single model of socialist construction. We favor the principle according to which the building of socialism should be carried out in a way that differs from one country to another and from one stage to another, and that it should be in accordance with the realities prevailing in each country. We think that the objective laws and principles of scientific socialism should be understood and applied in accordance with the realities prevailing in each country. We have restored a sense of dignity and independence in the party and people. In the economy we introduced the principles of self-management, self-administration, and self-financing and we adopted, under law, the provisions whereby workers—or the personnel of an enterprise—are the collective owners of the fixed assets that are entrusted to them for administration and they are responsible toward society for their proper management and development. We have modernized the forms of socialist ownership. A long time ago we renounced the theses of differences between various forms of capitalist ownership, because we believe that the joint property of our whole nation—known in general as state socialist property and cooperative property—represent two forms which are in complete accordance with socialist principles, and in this respect no form is superior to the other. A long time ago, actually 20 years ago, we renounced one-man management in enterprises. We introduced the principle of collective management and collective responsibility, setting up working people's councils, of which at least 30 percent must be workers. We have institutionalized by law the general meetings of owners and producers as the highest management bodies in an enterprise. As far as some measures that are being adopted in various countries are concerned, we believe—starting from the principle that I have mentioned regarding the right of each party and people to independently establish its political line and its development—that each party and each people should seek the best ways for improvement, which is in accordance with the situation in the respective countries and which take into consideration their stage of development.

Nevertheless, I must frankly tell you that, proceeding from this, we are concerned over the fact that in some countries the improvement activity implies the renunciation of some socialist achievements, in the organization and management of the economy and of various social achievements which are specific to socialism and are linked to the very essence of socialism. Therefore, we believe that the systems of managing and running the economic activity should be improved, but society must go forward not backward! Whereas a return to capitalist forms of property or economic management means neither improvement nor advancement. Regarding the six officials that you asked about, they are degenerates who were working for foreign interests.

DANAS: There are some people who think that there is no socialist or capitalist economy, but only a good economy or a bad economy. What is your opinion about this?

Ceausescu: There is a capitalist economy and there is a socialist economy. The differences between them are well-known. The essential issue in this matter is linked to the ownership of the means of production, to the existence or nonexistence of exploitation of man by man in the system of distribution. Forms of economic management can differ and some of them can be even identical. It is not the form of management but the form of ownership that is essential. No doubt the capitalist economy had scored very good results and it still continues to do so, but its basis remains capitalist and it bears the defects that call for its elimination. We believe that socialism has very important achievements, although some poor activity can be noted as well. However, an improvement in socialism cannot mean a return to capitalism but the removing of shortfalls. We firmly believe that the current problems will be overcome and socialism will assert itself even more vigorously.

DANAS: Comrade President, before coming here I heard that you would be soon visited by PRAVDA journalists. What will you tell them if they ask about the Soviet perestroyka?

Ceausescu: They did not send me such a question in advance. But why do you not ask me directly. Why are you beating about the bush?

DANAS: There is much speculation in the world about the building of new instead of the old villages, about your new urbanization policy. What is in fact happening? Are we talking about a destruction of villages?

Ceausescu: In 1968 we carried out a new territorial-administrative reorganization of our country. We abolished regions and districts and reestablished our traditional counties. Accordingly, we established the administrative system based on counties, towns, and communes, that is, a number of villages and localities are included in a commune. As a matter of fact, this has always been the principle of administrative organization in Romania. What we did in 1968 was to enhance the role of towns and communes according to the principles of territorial-administrative self-management. In the past 20 years we have created 82 new towns. The old towns have also developed greatly; thus, today the urban population represents 60 percent of the population of our country. In general, we intended to provide conditions for the working people to encourage them to remain in their own localities, in their own communes, where we plan to add to the existing material base the possibility for young people to undergo education for 12 years in their own locality or in a neighboring one. We should add to all this the development of agriculture, of small-scale industry, commercial activities, and of other activities. We want people in communes to have in their own locality everything that can be found in towns. We have built dwellings in communes for workers and experts and we will continue to do so. We have established a systematization program, so that everybody should build their houses within the established boundaries. In this way we must put an end to the anarchy of the past. We are also concerned with the road and electricity network and with all the rest of the infrastructure system. We do not want to have developed towns and backward villages.

DANAS: According to some people, the system of urbanization is also being applied in the places inhabited by our national minorities, Croats and Serbs. On the basis of what criteria is this system applied to certain villages? Are you reallocating people far away from their old hearths?

Ceausescu: We want the people to stay in their old places, but in new houses. We are not moving them from one place to another. The policy of urbanization concerns Romania as a whole. We do not have any such plan for only certain parts of the country. After all, on your way to Snagov, you could have seen one such village inhabited exclusively by Romanians.

DANAS: Yes, but if you move out say 100 Croats or Serbs from one such autochthonous village into bigger places, they will lose their national identity in the crowd of other people. Is this not a kind of silent assimilation?

Ceausescu: I do not know any such autochthonous villages inhabited by 100 Croats or Serbs. I want to tell you that in Romania people are tied into joint life and there is no religious, national, or racial discrimination. This has been our country's historic development. People relate one to another. National minorities in Romania enjoy all the rights and in practice this is provided for by the law. It is true that the lives of some citizens of different nationality, but of Romanian citizenship, are linked to events in Romania and its development. The increase in their living standard cannot be ensured from abroad, but rather here, in Romania. These principles are not only stipulated by our Constitution, which we consider to be among the best, as it guarantees full equality among all citizens, but are also corroborated by reality and therefore there is no discrimination whatsoever, from any point of view.

DANAS: What problems exist in relations with Hungary?

Ceausescu: Over time, Romania and Hungary have developed relations of cooperation as socialist countries. As far as we are concerned, we have no problems whatsoever with Hungary. We have always advocated and continue to speak out for relations of good-neighborliness and cooperation in socialist construction and all spheres. It is true that certain claims were made concerning responsibility for the lives of certain Romanian citizens of Hungarian nationality, but at the same time other statements were made to the effect that this is understood to be a problem of socialist Romania. All the citizens of our country have the same obligations in their capacity as citizens of the Socialist Republic of Romania. We want to develop good cooperation with our neighbors, on the principles of equality and mutual respect, so that we can help each other in solving certain problems that emerge in one or the other country, without claims about interference in the domestic affairs of another state.

DANAS: The Socialist Republic of Romania was the first country to speak out for reducing military expenditures and budgets and concurrently abolishing the military blocs. What are your country's latest proposals in this respect?

Ceausescu: Romania has always advocated disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament. As far as we are concerned, Romania did not only talk, but actually proceeded to a unilateral reduction in troops, arms, and military expenditures. On the basis of known data, today Romania is a country which spends the smallest per capita amounts on armaments in Europe. Generally speaking, our country's military expenditures do not exceed 3 percent of the national income, and we plan to further reduce this percentage in the future. As a matter of fact, I can tell you that this allowed us and helped us to implement our development programs and repay our foreign debt. We strive for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons and for an end to nuclear tests. We are against the militarization of space and want NATO to

renounce the modernization of its tactical missiles. In our opinion, this problem cannot be solved by only two or several countries. In this respect, Romania firmly speaks out for turning the Balkans into an area of peace and overcoming certain topical differences.

DANAS: In the western press there have been some speculations that Romania possesses an atom bomb.

Ceausescu: There will always be lunatics who like to speculate. I refuse to talk about, to lower myself to that level.

DANAS: In your capacity as Supreme Commander of the Romanian Armed Forces, what can you tell us about Romania's military doctrine?

Ceausescu: Our doctrine is a defense doctrine. We proceed from the principle that the country's defense is the obligation of the whole nation. We proceed from the conviction that the country's defense capability and strength must primarily rely on the development of the national economy and the growth of the people's living standard.

DANAS: Some European organizations have expressed reservations concerning human rights in Romania. What can you tell us about this problem?

Ceausescu: Romania has played an active role in organizing the Helsinki conference. In the meantime, certain reactionary circles, ignoring the truly basic rights, are trying to interfere in the domestic affairs of various countries, including Romania. In particular, there is much talk about emigration. We have always solved problems in a humanitarian spirit, including the right to family unification, but we have been and still are against any stimulation of and support for the policy of emigration. We believe that this is something that runs counter to true human rights, and serves the interests of imperialist circles and monopolies, helping them to enlist specialists and various scientists. On the other hand, we have always attached importance to the right to work, particularly for the young generation, and we demand the elimination of discrimination against sex or race as is the case with blacks in the United States. We insist on rectifying the housing problem, which is another serious matter in many developed countries. As a matter of fact, these are the key aspects of human rights. To try to invent other problems means to try to divert the attention of ones own peoples from the serious socioeconomic realities that need to be resolved.

DANAS: What role and place do your wife Elena Ceausescu and your son have in your life, your career? Are they possible successors?

Ceausescu: As far as my wife is concerned, we have known each other for 50 years, from the time of the revolutionary movement. She is an RCP activist and fulfills party-state duties in accordance with decisions taken by the party-state leadership. It is obvious that, when people belonging to the same family have the same political concepts and even operate in the same party and state, this is a very important thing.

DANAS: What is your opinion on the cooperation between our countries and the prospects of Romanian-Yugoslav relations.

Ceausescu: Relations between Romania and Yugoslavia have been developing well for a long time. For a long time, an important role in this respect was played by meetings and discussion with President Josip Broz Tito. Generally speaking, we believe that the present relations between our countries are good, but not up to the potential possibilities of the two countries. I think that there are great opportunities for expanding Romanian-Yugoslav relations.

DANAS: Is it true that you like to watch the television series Kojak? What hobbies do you have?

Ceausescu: I watch Kojak and many other series. There are better ones. My hobby is the realization of socialism in Romania. I have lived that life of serving Romania since I was 13. However, when I have some spare time I like to go hunting. I used to go hunting with President Tito once a year. I also like volleyball and swimming.

DANAS: How many hours a day do you work on average?

Ceausescu: That is difficult to say, it is difficult to express it in hours. It all depends on the problems that unfortunately arise....

Popit Resigns From Slovene Central Committee

AU2908103789 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1000 GMT 29 Aug 89

[Text] France Popit, a former long-running president of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, has announced that he is leaving the Central Committee.

In a detailed letter that he sent to the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia, Popit stresses that he is no longer prepared to bear responsibility for the consequences of the renewal of the League of Communists which is being implemented and shaped by the present Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Slovenia.

Popit is not satisfied with the policy of the League of Communists of Slovenia and its way of maintaining contact with the opposition. He believes that the current renewal of the League of Communists of Slovenia is not producing results.

It has been discovered that the letter has already been discussed at a session of the Presidium of the republican Central Committee, which France Popit did not attend even though he was invited.

POLITIKA Views Poland, PZPR 'Defeat'

AU2808170589 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 27 Aug 89 p 2

[Dusan Pesic commentary: "The Puzzles of the Polish Challenge"]

[Text] "If the Communists were to be the opposition together with the official trade unions, this would be very dangerous and could lead to a civil war...." "The church was and is the force that stabilizes the situation in Poland...." These two quotes from recent statements by the new Polish prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who had just received the support of all the parliamentary and political groups in the Sejm, show the two poles of the current political moment in Warsaw between which dangerous sparks could fly in the days to come. The question of whether cooperation and a constructive balance of aims and possibilities between Solidarity and the forces behind it (which are coming in) and the until recently ruling Communist party (which is going out) will be established and to what extent, will greatly decide the future of not just the Polish turnaround, marked by the formation of a government which is no longer headed by Communists, but also of the whole process of reforms in the countries of so-called real socialism of Eastern Europe, and even in the Soviet Union. The idea could of course be developed further and it could be said that all this could also influence the course of East-West relations by introducing a string of new elements unknown in postwar practice. All these conclusions understandably impose the need for extreme caution, wisdom, patience, and a strong sense of the reality with which primarily the statesmen of the leading countries in both East and the West are faced.

In truth, it should be admitted that the aforementioned characteristics are already present. Officially, the West, at least for now, lacks any exaggerated feeling of triumph at the "defeat of the Communists." Washington, London, and Paris are trying not to cause any additional disturbances or to display exaggerated zeal in their sympathies which could be interpreted in Eastern Europe and above all in the Soviet Union as a move to interfere in or exploit the situation in order to take up their positions. Of course, it is still not completely clear whether this is a result of diplomatic wisdom or whether the West itself is a little surprised by the rapid development of the processes in the East, which were at times getting out of control and threatening to turn into chaos, with consequences that could have undermined the stability of Europe and the world, instead of establishing the desired process of democratization.

The Caution of Bush and Gorbachev

Something of this mood could be sensed in the message that President Bush sent to Mazowiecki in which he admits that there have been changes in Europe that he could not have "imagined when he took over the post of United States President 7 months ago." Gorbachev, who certainly found it more difficult to define his own position, showed that he could rise to the occasion. He warned that it was essential for the new Polish Government to take account of its obligations to the Warsaw Pact, and at the same time refrained from interference in the internal balance of power. He confirmed this with the fact that Moscow sent its congratulations to Mazowiecki with enviable speed.

It is understandable that the Soviets are not glad that the Communists in Poland have lost their advantage, but they have also confirmed their sense of the acceptance of reality. In fact, another element for investigation has been added to the whole experiment that is taking place there. Is it possible that the Warsaw Pact could even have members which will have different political orientations, but nevertheless be able to preserve the basic core of partnership and respect for common strategic interests. It could also be assumed that Gorbachev is interested in the Polish experiment for internal political reasons. Faced with bureaucratic resistance in his own community which, by using the existing weaknesses, wants to show that reforms supposedly lead to anarchy, splits, and the destruction of the system, he opposes this with the idea that the defeat of socialism is not involved here, but rather the destruction of the Stalinist model which had compromised both the idea and the party. By supporting, within reasonable limits, the processes of democratization in Poland and Hungary and suggesting to Rakowski that he participate in the coalition, Gorbachev is in fact advocating the Polish party's avoidance of the danger of withdrawing into destructive opposition and relying solely on the influential positions that it still has in the army, the state apparatus, and the police, and

instead its initiation of its own renewal by seeking a more modern and fresher political program with which, in time, it could possibly become attractive to voters.

If the further development of events in Poland avoids turning into anticommunist chaos—which is a danger that exists—and if, through the joint efforts of all political forces, a more efficient system can be constructed with the positive aspects of socialism and a rejection of all the inherited deformations, the stimulus to democratic processes would be indisputable.

Because of all this, the eyes of the modern world are directed toward Poland in anticipation of the moves that Premier Mazowiecki will take. This returns us to the first of the two quotes at the beginning of this article. Will the premier act like a confirmed Catholic or like a reformer with the traits of a statesman who is capable of accepting the fact that the 45-year old tracks of socialism are nevertheless still present, with all their mistakes and errors, and that they will have to be considered, even in a situation in which the party that produced them has been defeated?

Or will he overcome the self-satisfaction of the belief that the Catholic Church and its political orientation have prevailed to such an extent that the last decades can be forgotten? If the latter were to happen, Poland would probably find itself in the unfavorable position whereby one ideological-dogmatic center would be exchanged for another (Moscow would be exchanged for the Vatican), which would again lead to dangerous extremes and would probably push the Communists into total opposition with serious consequences. The fact that this worry is not completely without foundation is shown by one of the first statements by the premier when, in reply to the question of how much his Catholic orientation would influence the policies of the government, he said: "I did not do everything in order to one day exchange one ideological concept for another in administrating the state." This is encouraging.

The Fateful Mistake of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR]

However, in order to realistically consider the situation, it is necessary to take into account all the elements involved. The fact that the forces of power in Poland have been replaced does not in the least mean that the basic problems of this country have been resolved or, at least, that the team that is taking over the helm has an appropriate formula in its possession.

The Polish party's misfortune was that it did not take advantage of the numerous chances that were offered to it at the beginning of the decade to reform itself more quickly and constructively. General Jaruzelski—whose courage during the latest events, sense of reality, and assessment of the real balance of power must be admitted—earlier vacillated in his decisions which ranged from "a state of war" and the banning of Solidarity, to a "roundtable." In this period the country got into a catastrophic economic situation with a debt of $39 billion, general shortages, a fall in living standards, and so on. All this caused bitterness among the people and contributed to eroding the authority and influence of the PZPR and, objectively speaking, helped the rise of the opposition which found it sufficient to register and exploit the mistakes of the ruling party. The lesson is that the inability to rid itself more quickly of dogma is fatal for every political movement and party, and this unfortunately happened to the Polish Communists. The problem is all the greater because, in the eyes of the citizens, such behavior is equated with socialism, so that the vitality and desirability of the whole system is brought into question.

The next consequence lies in the fact that Solidarity developed into the leading force thanks to the mistakes of the PZPR, which as time passed increasingly compromised itself, rather than because it formulated its own detailed program of reforms which were able to resolve the crisis. Mazowiecki's government is in the unenviable position whereby it is only now beginning to look for such a program, and there is not much time left. In such situations the danger lies in insisting too emphatically on the guilt of the opponents, rather than on finding a solution that is able to unite all the political forces. This is the great trial that faces Mazowiecki. The fact that his thoughts are for now directed in a constructive direction is encouraged by the second quote at the beginning of the article, from which it can be seen that he does not by any means want the PZPR to become part of the opposition. However, in politics it is always difficult to maintain a balance between the desires and challenges of the moment. In confronting the difficulties, the government will constantly be tempted to give justifications and explanations based on the accusations of its predecessors. The PZPR will at the same time be faced with the huge difficulties of reforming itself if it finds itself constantly in the role of the accused. In such situations, the challenge of confrontations, no matter how irrational, would appear dearer to many people. This is where the real danger and delicacy of the present Polish moment lie, because conflicts should be avoided at any price, particularly at this time. But no one knows what this price will be, because the political victory of Mazowiecki is not the end but the beginning of the real processes to find a Polish formula.

Farmers Hold Rally Outside of National Assembly

Demands Given to President

LD2808174289 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1457 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—We urgently call on the state to pass a short- and a long-term program of measures for agriculture, in which farmers' holdings will finally gain their own place. This is one of the demands of the participants in today's farmers' rally outside the SFRY Assembly. The farmers, dissatisfied with the unfavorable position of agriculture in society and with the

long-term agricultural policy of the state, are seeking to get their share because, they claim, they have up to now been working to develop industry.

Stressing that they cannot go on like this, the farmers are calling for balanced accounts. They want to know what the state orders to be produced, at whose risk, and where 21 trillion dinars in assistance to agriculture goes. The demands of the farmers are that subsidies should be paid directly; cheap food should be sold in the afternoon and economic dealings made in the mornings; the state should protect workers and farmers from expensive food; and the minimum price of wheat should take inflation into account.

The farmers are also seeking equality in the social sector, so that they are given economic status and are freed from taxes on the turnover of semi-manufactures, spare parts and equipment, and so that tax on diesel fuel is reduced and direct credits are made possible, as well as free imports of semi-manufactures and the export of produce.

In their opinion, the farmers can feed Yugoslavia as well as ensure a surplus for export. The conditions for this are that a decision should be passed banning imports of agricultural products which they, the demands state, produce more cheaply than the subsidized European farmer. They do not want dumping, but rather healthy competition and antimonopoly laws, and they also want agriculture to be made equal with other branches of the economy.

In the text read out at today's meeting, the farmers want to be represented to a greater extent in the places where decisions are made, and they call for a one-time nonreturnable assistance payment in working assets so that they can survive. They see the situation they are in as a consequence of bad agricultural policy by the state and they demand that it should pay for its mistakes.

Stop inflation, this cannot go on any longer. Show us a plan by which this will be done, stress the farmers, adding that they can no longer witness the lack of any future for their children.

Finally the farmers demand that there should be constant work to uncover the culprits for the situation which has arisen. These people, in their opinion, continue to live well even today. They expect a guarantee from the president of the SFRY Assembly. The text of the statement which, it says in its title, was also adopted at a session of the Vojvodina Socialist Alliance of Working People Provincial Committee, was read out by Djordje Janjin, a farmer from Kovilj.

Protest Rally Continues

AU2808172389 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Good evening. At this moment it is raining all over the country. Rain will be good for crops but not for some 10,000 farmers who are taking part in a meeting about agriculture's future in front of the SFRY Assembly. The meeting started at about 1600 and is still going on. Our reporter Milorad Jovic is there. What is happening now?

[Jovic] At present there are some 3,000 farmers under umbrellas in front of the Assembly. Not even the rain showers and the persistent calls of the organizational committee to the farmers to go into the great hall of the trade union organization have helped. The farmers are resolute with their demands and want to stay in front of the Assembly until their demands have been met, that is to say until Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, addresses them.

Markovic's Presence Still Demanded

AU2808180689 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Dear listeners, our reporter Milorad Jovic, who is in front of the SFRY Assembly, is on the line again:

Few minutes ago the farmers were informed that the responsible people in the SFRY Assembly accepted their demands, that is to say to consider their demands. Everything will be known by 5 October, one of the members of the organizational committee said appealing to the farmers to disperse and to be patient. His appeals for that and for the farmers to move into the trade union premises or the park on the opposite side of the SFRY Assembly were booed. In the last 1 and ½ hours the people gathered in front of the assembly have been chanting: We want the manager, we want Ante [Markovic]. Occasionally a potato or corn would be thrown at the Assembly door.

There have not been any major incidents. [passage omitted] It is still unknown when the rally will end. It is still raining and one could hear booing, slogans, and farmers saying that this rain will do a lot good to corn. Traffic has again been allowed to go through the Boulevard of Revolution in front of the Assembly, but several thousand farmers remain in front of the Assembly.

Agriculture Minister Speaks

LD2808202989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1921 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Just before 2100 this evening, Dr Stevo Mirjanic, federal secretary for agriculture, addressed the participants in the farmers' protest meeting which began this afternoon in Belgrade. Mirjanic stressed that the FEC has already undertaken definite steps meant to improve the agricultural production conditions. The essence of those activities is to make the conditions for business activity equal in the social and the individual sectors. We expect the measures proposed by the government to be accepted in the SFRY Assembly, the National Bank, and in the republican and provincial assemblies.

Mirjanic stressed that the FEC is convinced that without the development of agriculture, there can be no long-term economic stabilization.

Protest Demonstration Ends

LD2808203989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—After 5 hours, the farmers' protest meeting in Belgrade—at which about 5,000 farmers demanded that the FEC [Federal Executive Council] and the SFRY Assembly "urgently" address themselves to resolving the problems of agriculture—came to an end this evening.

More than 20 farmers spoke today outside the SFRY Assembly, and a few individuals from other professions also spoke, expressing solidarity with the demands of the agricultural workers.

The participants in the protest meeting were also addressed by Federal Secretary for Agriculture, Dr Stevo Mirjanic this evening. His speech was occasionally interrupted by stormy disapproval.

After this, Sava Govorcic, chairman of the organizing committee of the meeting, formally announced that the meeting was over, repeating that the farmers would gather again if they were not satisfied with the decisions of the SFRY Assembly.

Vlasi, 14 Others Charged With Security Threat

LD2808153189 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1301 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Spasoje Zamfirovic, the district public prosecutor in Titova Mitrovica, announced today that charges have been brought in the Titova Mitrovica District Court aganst 15 persons who are accused of carrying out acts—by individual actions and by their overall activity—aimed at smashing brotherhood and unity, destroying the equality of nations and nationalities, and undermining the economic basis of the country. This, the statement says, resulted in the death of several people, danger to human life, serious violence, and a threat to the security of the country's economic strength. By doing this, they carried out the criminal act of posing a counterrevolutionary threat to the social system as per Article 114 of the SFRY criminal law, punishable in accordance with Article 139, Paragraph one and the said law.

Charges have been brought against Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Burhan Kavaja, Ljazar Krasnici, Ibus Jonuzi, Mensur Fejza, Riza Musli, Ismailj Nimani, Murselj Haziri, Sinan Kurtesi, Ramiz Kadriju, Veli Osmani, Avdo Uka, Jetis Bajrami, and Tahir Salihu. It says in the bill of indictment that Azem Vlasi, Aziz Abrasi, Burhan Kavaja, and Ljazar Krasnici were directly involved in organizing and supporting mass protest gatherings and demonstrations by citizens of Albanian nationality in Kosovo in November last year and the miners' strike in Stari Trg in February of this year. The others who have been charged are accused of having organized the miners' strike.

Trial Within 2 Months

LD2808153789 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1344 GMT 28 Aug 89

[Summary] Titova Mitrovica, 28 Aug (TANJUG)—Charges have been brought against 15 people in the Titova Mitrovica District Court.

"In a short conversation with journalists, the district public prosecutor, Spasoje Zamfirovic, said that the trial would be held within the next 2 months at the latest, in Titova Mitrovica. For this purpose, a hall is being prepared in the Titova Mitrovica District Court which will be capable of holding 80 people. About 90 witnesses will be called to the trial, including some politicians, although their names have not been given. The charges run are 20 pages long.

"Zamfirovic stressed that this trial should be an 'ordinary' one and that, in the judicial experience of the Titova Mitrovica Judiciary there had been more difficult and more complex trials, such as the well-known affair of the stolen silver at Trepca."

GDR's Schuerer Arrives for Visit, Holds Talks

Meets With Pregl

AU2808142989 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 24 Aug 89 p 2

[Text] TANJUG—Gerhard Schuerer, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the GDR and chairman of the State Planning Commission, arrived for a visit to Yugoslavia yesterday. In the talks between Zivko Pregl, vice president of the Federal Executive Council, and Gerhard Schuerer, an exhaustive exchange of opinions was carried out about the current economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries and the possibilities of advancing it further.

Discusses Economy With Radmilovic

LD2408203489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1341 GMT 24 Aug 89

[Text] Belgrade (ADN)—Dr Stanko Radmilovic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany] Politburo, GDR vice premier and chairman of the State Planning Commission, today exchanged opinions on the social development in the GDR and Yugoslavia. The consistent commitment of the GDR as a member of the Warsaw Pact, and that of Yugoslavia in the Nonaligned Movement, for the preservation and consolidation of peace were praised. It was noted the successful cooperation between

the SED and the LCY made an important contribution to the constant development of friendly relations between the two countries.

Schuerer is in Belgrade for consultations on the development of economic relations in the period 1991-95.

Both officials expressed their satisfaction concerning the continuous development of friendly relations and all-sided cooperation, which has attained a high level. Both sides are working actively on the realization of the long-term trade agreement of 1986-90. They spoke in support of concretizing the long-term cooperation program for the period to the year 2000, signed in 1988, with tasks for the years 1991-95. This is particularly important in the case of mutual supplies of raw material, of equipment for modernization, rationalization and automation of production, and of high-quality goods for the needs of population.

There are already 28 treaties and agreements on industrial cooperation, specialization, and cooperation in production between the two countries. Over 40 percent of economic relations are based on long-term agreements.

Schuerer and Zivko Pregl, vice chairman of the Federal Executive Council, after the discussions had concluded, signed the minutes on economic and scientific-technical cooperation in the period 1991-95

Further Talks With Radmilovic

AU2808143089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 9

[Text] Stanko Radmilovic, member of the Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia, had talks yesterday with Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and chairman of the State Planning Commission of the GDR.

Loncar Meets Senegalese Foreign Minister

LD2808225189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2207 GMT 28 Aug 89

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, August 28 (TANJUG)—Talks between Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar and his counterpart from Senegal Ibrahima Fall held in Belgrade tonight have announced large-scale consultations which will be held at the ministerial level between Yugoslavia (?and) non-aligned countries ahead of the ninth non-aligned summit.

The Loncar-Fall meeting was directly concerned with the ministerial conference which will be held on September 1-2, prior to the meeting of heads of state or governments of non-aligned countries.

The Senegalese foreign minister told Loncar that Senegal fully supports the Yugoslav concept presented in draft documents for the summit.

During the Loncar-Fall talks, special attention was devoted to the promotion of the North-South dialogue. Senegal is one of four countries (with Egypt, India and Venezuela) which proposed in Paris recently the establishing of a top-level dialogue between the developed and the undeveloped. North-South cooperation will be one of the more important areas which the ninth non-aligned summit will discuss.

Fall informed Loncar that Senegal is trying to overcome the mutual problems in its relations with Mauritania in the best possible way, and said he was confident that these difficulties could not burdent the work of the Belgrade non-aligned conference.

The Yugoslav foreign secretary will have a busy schedule these days. Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malmierca arrived in Belgrade this evening and he will be received by Loncar tomorrow morning.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Discusses Nevesinje Issue

Statement Issued

LD2508214489 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1459 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The LC [League of Communists] and all organized socialist forces in Nevesinje should oppose all divisions and gatherings on a national basis, for these will not contribute towards the resolution of objectively great problems facing this community.

This was said in the statement from today's session of the presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee. The statement also stresses that former attitudes of the competent institutions of the system regarding resolution of the problems to which the citizens of Nevesinje reacted, have not shown adequate level of organization and necessary efficiency.

Advocating a speedier resolution of the present situation in the municipality, the presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee stressed that meetings or any other attempts to resolve the accumulated problems outside the institutions of the system do not contribute, but on the contrary, worsen and complicate the situation.

The Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee examined the current political situation in Nevesinje, particularly the situation in the municipal LC organization after the July meeting, which demanded a speedier resolution of the issue of development and efficient establishment of unlawfulness in usage of recovery funds to mitigate consequences of the earthquake damage, housing loan, and green plan [plan concerning arable and farming land]. As is known, the

meeting demanded the resignations of municipal leaderships, among others, the president and secretary of the Municipal Committee of the Nevesinje LC. According to the Central Committee Presidium, discussions in the basic LC organizations regarding justifiability of the demands for resignations, should be speeded up, and conditions for normal work should be created as soon as possible.

Proceeding from the principle of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee that unlawfullness should be fought energetically, efficiently and with legal means, the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee assessed that in this case too, Nevesinje Communists in municipal and republican competent bodies must invest efforts energetically so that issues raised by citizens are resolved immediately, without postponments, facts are established in a legal manner, and that the full truth is presented. Competent institutions of the system should establish those responsible for all eventual abuses, illegality in the work of individuals or bodies, blockades or hindering of an investigation, and appropriate legal measures should be meted out against them, and when members of the LC are involved, ideopolitical measures should be meted out too.

Measures undertaken so far yielded some results, but, taking everything into account, former attitudes of the competent institutions of the system regarding resolution of the problems to which Nevesinje citizens reacted, did not show adequate organization and necessary efficiency. After the resignations had been submitted, the work of some state and municipal administrative bodies in Nevesinje was almost blocked. Consequently, these bodies are now slowly determining and carrying out their own functions. We must, as quickly as possible, end this situation faced by some bodies of sociopolitical organizations, and even LC bodies, the statement notes.

This is an important condition for resolving the complete situation in Nevesinje in a legal and self-managing manner, the statement underlines. Meetings or any other way of resolving the accumulated problems outside the institutions of the system do not contribute, but on the contrary, worsen and complicate the situation, instigate new clashes, mistrust, suspicion and allow individuals to act destructively.

We should not act because of a pressure which calls on institutions not for better and more efficient work, but the opposite, in order to paralyze their initiatives and actions, and all with the aim of creating a short-term period of anarchy, during which they want to fulfil some individual ambitions. We should not be taken [as received] by completely illegitimate and illegal forms of exertion of influence, the Presidium of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee stresses.

Consequences of such activity have reflected negatively on the overall situation, even on the traditionally good interethnic relations in Nevesinje. Exponents of Serbian and Muslim nationalism try to use the situation, to give their national overtones to everything, to spread interethnic mistrust and to cause divisions.

The LC and all other organized socialist forces in Nevesinje must constantly keep open the ideological and political struggle front and sharply oppose all divisions and gatherings on the national basis, because they will not contribute toward resolution of objectively great problems facing the community, today's statement concludes.

Nevesinje Events Reviewed

LD2508215689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1542 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—The Executive Council believes that responsibility is to be borne by the chairman and the members of the executive committee of the Nevesinje Municipal Assembly for failures in the functioning of this organ, and as a result it is initiating procedures in the Nevesinje Municipal Assembly to establish their responsibility.

This is one of the conclusions of the Executive Council of this republic in connection with the events in Nevesinje. In a lengthy communique from the Republican Executive Council session, stress is also placed on the conclusion that the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs has an obligation, in connection with the heralded meeting in Nevesinje, to consider the factual situation and legal conditions for holding it, and to give timely instruction on this to the municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

The Executive Council, on the basis of constitutional and legal provisions, also specified a manager from the republican administrative organs as coordinator of the work of the municipal administrative organs in Nevesinje.

The Executive Council stated that in the municipality of Nevesinje there are many problems and weaknesses caused by many years of economic stagnation and difficulties in the material position, and ther are even irregularities and illegalities in the use of funds for removing the consequences of earthquakes, "Green Plan" funds and housing funds, and a series of weaknesses in the work of the institutions of the political system, including the organs of the state's administration. [passage omitted] The Executive Council has launched a procedure to establish the responsibility of the chairman and members of the Executive Committee of the Nevesinje Municipal Assembly for failures in the functioning of this organ.

In view of the fact that numerous weaknesses and illegalities have been established in the municipal administrative organs themselves—from the absence of a fundamental general act on the organization and systematization of jobs, to the granting of a job to a person who does not fulfil the prescribed conditions, and a large number of irregularities in the implementation of

administrative procedure—something which in itself was a basis for the poor and irresponsible performance of their functions, special responsibility is borne by the chief republican adminstrative inspector, who as a result is being relieved of his duties, the Executive Council communique says.

The Republican Executive Council has obliged the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs in connection with the heralded meeting in Nevesinje to consider the factual situation and the legal conditions for holding it and to offer in a timely fashion obligatory instructions on this to the Municipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs.

Meeting Held 'Despite Ban'

AU2608161489 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 26 Aug 89

[Text] Despite a ban imposed by respective organs of internal affairs, a meeting was held in Nevesinje today. As a TANJUG correspondent reports, about 500 citizens attended.

The meeting supported the positions and assessments of the sessions of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina and of the republican Executive Council held yesterday. The members of the organizational committee of the meeting asked citizens to disperse peacefully, having promised that they will insist further that the many problems of the commune be resolved.

Here they had in mind the affair connected with the earthquake relief, the Green Plan [farming development loans], and housing loans. Unless the respective organs fail to solve these questions, another meeting is possible by the end of September.

The gathered citizens dispersed and the security organs did not have to intervene.

Knin Authorities Ban Political Protest Rally

AU2808210089 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Aug 89 p 12

[M.C. report: "Knin Secretariat for Internal Affairs Banned Protest Rally"]

[Text] Knin, 21 Aug—The members of the Initiating Committee for holding a political protest rally in Biovicino Selo, near Knin, received a decree from the Knin Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs banning the rally.

The session of the communal political aktiv held prior to that, which was attended by the officials from the Knin sociopolitical organizations, also concluded that this meeting should not be held because such a political rally in unnecessary.

Although this decision was respected, some 20 villagers and members of the Initiating Committee gathered at the scheduled time.

In addition, some inhabitants of Biovicino Selo, who participated in the events near the Lazarica Church in the town of Kosovo in Dalmatia, have been given prison sentences.

Stari Trg Miners Hold, End Brief Pay Protest

LD2508221389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1639 GMT 25 Aug 89

[Text] Titova Mitrovica, 25 Aug (TANJUG)—At a session of the workers' council of the Trepca combine, delegates today unanimously elected Cazim Salja as president of the management board of this organization. Salja has hitherto held the post of president of the temporary management organ of the Stari Trg mine. One hundred miners in the second shift today refused to go down the pits, requesting that they be paid their personal income for last month. After brief talks with representatives of the combine they went down the pits. Last night the third shift also refused to go down the mine, but after talks with representatives of the sociopolitical organizations of the municipality, the combine, and the mines, they returned to work. The first shift worked normally this morning.

Drnovsek Meets Newly Appointed Ambassadors

LD2508225989

[Editorial Report] Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 1113, 1116, and 1439 GMT on 25 August reports on SFRY Presidency President Janez Drnovsek's meetings with recently appointed ambassadors. Drnovsek met ('Abd al-Aziz Nasir al-'Uways), the newly appointed ambassador of the United Arab Emirates to the SFRY, and (Abdol Samad Azhar), newly appointed Afghan ambassador to the SFRY, who presented their credentials. Drnovsek also received Milan Milutinovic, newly appointed SFRY ambassador to Greece, prior to the latter's departure.

New Ambassador to Mexico Golob Appointed

AU2808143189 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 25 Aug 89 p 9

[Text] By decree of the SFRY Presidency, Ignac Golob has been appointed new Yugoslav ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the United Mexican States.